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TO THE FELLOWS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY.

GENTLEMEN, *London*, 4 *November*, 1802.

The season approaches, when, by the constitution of the Royal Society, the authority delegated by us to our President, Council and Officers, devolves again to the body at large, to be by them conferred anew on such of the members as appear the most worthy of their approbation and confidence. That this annual election is by no means a matter of form, or a mere ceremonious confirmation of the authority of the President and officers, is evident from the statutes of the Society, which direct that repeated public warning should be given by the President to the body, "How much it importeth to the welfare of the Society, that such persons be chosen of the Council, out of whom a proper choice may be made of President and officers."—We are therefore called on seriously to consider the merits or demerits of those on whom we have conferred the honourable guardianship of our fame and interest; and a candid examination of their conduct, so far as it relates to the Society, is not merely the exercise of a right; it is the discharge of a duty.

Under this consideration, I feel msyelf more than simply justified in recalling to your recollection, and pressing on your mature consideration, a letter written by your President, some months since: and which, though at the time it caused much discussion, and met with universal disapprobation, both in and out of the Society, seems gradually to have dropped from our memory, without having excited any permanent intention of asserting the honours of the Society, by public animadversion on the conduct of Sir JosephBanks.

I propose, in the first place, to lay before you an accurate statement of the facts to which I allude, and then to make a few observations on the conduct of our President.

In the latter end of the year 1801, Sir Joseph Banks was elected by the National Institute of France, the first of forty foreign members, whom by their new regulations, they were empowered to add to their body. In answer to the official letter from the Secretary of the Institute, announcing to him his election, he wrote a letter, in English, of which the following translation was published in the Moniteur of the 18th of March last:

INSTITUT NATIONAL.

Traduction d'une Lettre de Sir Joseph Banks, Président de la Société Royale de Londres, aux Président et Secrétaire de l'Institut National de France.

" Citoyens, *Londres*, 21 *Janvier*, 1802.

" Veuillez offrir à l'Institut National l'expression de ma reconnaissance pour l'honneur qu'on m'a fait en me donnant le titre d'associé de ce corps savant et distingué.

" Assurez en même temps mes respectables confrères que je considère cette marque de leur estime comme la première et la plus agréable des distinctions littéraires que je pusse recevoir. Etre le premier choisi pour associé de la première société littéraire du monde, surpasse mes vœux le plus ambitieux; et je ne puis être trop reconnaissant envers la société qui m'a conféré cet honneur, et envers la nation dont elle est la représentation littéraire; nation qui, pendant les convulsions les plus affreuses de la plus terrible révolution, n'a jamais cessé d'avoir mon estime, dans la persuasion où j'ai toujours été, même pendant les périodes les plus désastreuses, que les bons citoyens y étaient en nombre considérable, qu'ils reprendraient infailliblement le dessus et qu'ils rétabliraient dans le cœur de leurs compatriotes l'empire de la vertu, de la justice, et de l'honneur.

" Recevez en particulier, citoyens, tous mes remercimens pour la manière vraiment obligeante dont vous m'avez communiqué cette bonne nouvelle.

" Je suis avec une estime sincère pour vos talens distingués, etc. *Signé*, JOSEPH BANKS."

It may reasonably be demanded, why the original answer of Sir Joseph is not laid before you, rather than the French translation. The reason is, that the English letter is guarded in the archives of the Institute, with so jealous care, that even a sight of it is refused to the members of the Institute themselves; and a copy of it has been positively denied to the most pressing application. As, however, the accuracy of the translation has never been denied, either by Sir Joseph, or any of his friends; and as no letter has been brought forward purporting to be the genuine original written by Sir Joseph, it is surely not unjust to conclude, that the sentiments contained in this translation are those of the writer, and to reason on it as a document of unimpeached authenticity.

It appears to me, that language can scarcely furnish terms of more direct insult to the Royal Society, than have been, in this letter, employed by their President. The honour of being elected one among forty foreign members of a newly established foreign scientific body, he, in unequivocal terms, places above that which the Royal Society of London have annually, during a period of 23 years, conferred on him. Forgetful of his country, of his friends; insensible to those feelings of attachment and gratitude which naturally should flow from long habits of intimacy, and a sense of benefits repeatedly conferred, he tells the Institute of France, and through them all Europe, that it is better to be one of their forty associates, than to preside over the first scientific body in his native land; in whose rolls the Sovereigns of this country have, from its foundation to the present day, considered it as not unworthy their high station personally to inscribe their names; and of which his present Majesty has, by repeated acts of munificence, most peculiarly declared himself the protector and patron.

If such, gentlemen, are the sentiments of Sir Joseph Banks, let him enjoy the honour he so highly esteems, but let us find some other person on whom to confer a favour which we have long considered as of the highest value; which certainly is the highest which we have to bestow on one of our own body, and which it is evident Sir Joseph so lightly prizes.

But, gentlemen, is this all? far from it.—Not satisfied with telling the world how little he esteems the honour of presiding over us, he proceeds, as far as in him lies, to degrade the body of the Society itself, from that high rank which it has held during more than a century, by the unanimous consent of all the learned in every country of Europe. If we look into the enumeration of titles which the literati are, with a pardonable vanity, fond of affixing to their names, we shall find, without an exception, that every nation has concurred in giving precedence to the title of Fellow of the Royal Society, over all foreign academies; each country, placing it immediately after their own national institution. This universal homage it would be an affront to Europe to suppose undeservedly paid; and as an Englishman, as a fellow of Royal Society, I view it with great and honest pride. From this pre-eminence has the society been attempted to be thrust, by the man, of all others, whose situation pointed him out as the jealous guardian and assertor of her honor and fame; whose peculiar duty it would have been to have vindicated her long-established rights, had any foreign nation attempted an attack upon them; and this strange homage to a foreign academy of yesterday is the more offensive, because totally unnecessary; as a letter of thanks, without a single word leading to abase one society by comparison with another, is all that could have been asked, and probably all that has been paid, by every person who has received this honour, Sir Joseph Banks alone excepted.

Hitherto, gentlemen, the voice of our President alone has degraded us, but if we tamely acquiesce in the insult he has offered us, we make ourselves parties in our own disgrace, and tell both our countrymen and Europe, that having abdicated the first rank, it remains with them to assign to us our new place; nor can we be either surprised or offended if that place is the last.

On many other exceptionable passages in Sir Joseph Banks's letter, I shall make no comment, as they have no immediate connexion with the honour of the Royal Society; but I

cannot forbear recommending the general tenor and spirit of the whole to your serious consideration.

Although at the time when the letter was the subject of very general discussion, Sir Joseph Banks himself, as far as I can learn, preserved a cautious and gloomy silence on the subject; yet several of his friends offered different excuses in extenuation of an act which nobody was sufficiently hardy to justify. These it is but fair briefly to consider.

By some, the letter was affected to be treated as words of course, mere compliments, meaning nothing less than their obvious import; and this society as well as this nation, had, they assured us, no warmer friend than Sir Joseph Banks. Was I in the place of the right hon. baronet, I should feel but little obligation to those who thus asserted my principles at the expense of my veracity, and without diminishing the insult offered to my old friends, charged me with insincerity to my new ones.

By many the letter was ascribed to a moment of intoxication; drunk with the honour conferred on him, the President committed to paper what in his cooler moments he would have disavowed. The fact I am perfectly ready to admit, as I am convinced that no man in his sober senses could have written such a letter; but since (to borrow bacchanalian phrases) our president's head is unfortunately so weak, that he has, in this affair, been evidently *more than half seas over*; however we may pity his infirmity, we shall but ill consult our honour or our interest, if we do not select for our guidance a pilot who may steer us *rather nearer to our own coast.*

The many and great obligations which the society owes to their president, and the great injury we should sustain by losing him, have been urged as reasons for our passing over without notice this insult offered to us. I shall be perfectly ready at all times to acknowledge with gratitude any favours received, and in the present instance I am willing to take for granted what would admit of some discussion; but, however high the account may be stated by the friends of Sir Joseph, I think that on a fair estimate, the society will be found far from his debtor. To our favour, gentlemen, Sir Joseph Banks owes most of the honours he now enjoys. His place among the trustees of the British Museum he holds as President of our body. The ribbon which decorates his person, and the honour of a seat at the board of his Majesty's most hon. privy council, no man can affect to deny were bestowed on the President of the Royal Society; nay, it is more than probable that this foreign honour, this Lotus,

"Which whoso eats forgets his former friends,"
"His country, and himself."

was principally conferred on him as a mark of respect to the society, over which he has still the honour to preside.

As to the difficulty of replacing Sir Joseph, I should think myself highly wanting in respect to the society, could I, for a moment, suppose that had death or resignation vacated the chair before this letter was written, no man among the long list of eminent and dignified names of which the society consists, could have been found of merit equal to his; but in the present case I do not hesitate to declare it as my decided opinion, that until another member can be pointed out who has equally insulted us, Sir Joseph is the most unworthy of the chair.

Deeply as I am affected at the insult offered us by our President, and convinced as I am that I have not in any degree exaggerated its magnitude and extent, yet there is a possibility that I may feel myself called on to disavow all that I have written. If the evening of the 30th of November sees Sir Joseph Banks unquestioned and uncensured in the chair of the society, I shall then indeed, with what feelings I need not say, be compelled to own, that our President has rightly estimated, and justly placed us.

I have the honour to be, gentlemen, your sincerely attached and obedient Servant,

A Fellow of the Royal Society.

BUONAPARTE'S CONDUCT IN SYRIA.

"He that hath ears to hear, let him hear!"

Extract taken from SIR ROBERT WILSON'S "*History of the British Expedition in Egypt,* "*&c. &c.*" just published.

Buonaparté having carried the town of Jaffa by assault, many of the garrison were put to the sword; but the greater part flying into the mosques, and imploring mercy from their pursuers, were granted

their lives; and let it be well remembered, that an exasperated army in the moment of revenge, when the laws of war justified the rage, yet heard the voice of pity, received its impression, and proudly refused to be any longer the executioners of an unresisting enemy. Soldiers of the Italian Army, this is a laurel wreath worthy of your fame, a trophy of which the subsequent treason of an individual shall not deprive you!

Three days afterwards, Buonaparté, who had expressed much resentment at the compassion manifested by his troops, and determined to relieve himself from the maintenance and care of *three thousand eight hundred prisoners*,* ordered them to be marched to a rising ground near Jaffa; where a division of French infantry formed against them. When the Turks had entered into their fatal alignement, and the mournful preparations were completed, the signal gun fired. Vollies of musquetry and grape instantly played against them; and Buonaparté, who had been regarding the scene through a telescope, when he saw the smoke ascending, could not restrain his joy, but broke out into exclamations of approval; indeed, he had just reasons to dread the refusal of his troops thus to dishonour themselves. Kleber had remonstrated in the most strenuous manner, and the officer of the Etat Major who commanded (for the general to whom the division belonged was absent) even refused to execute the order without a written instruction; but Buonaparté was too cautious, and sent Berthier to enforce obedience.

When the Turks had all fallen, the French troops humanely endeavoured to put a period to the sufferings of the wounded, but some time elapsed before the bayonet could finish what the fire had not destroyed, and probably many languished whole days in agony. Several French officers, by whom partly these details are furnished, declared, that this was a scene, the retrospect of which tormented their recollection, and that they could not reflect on it without horror; accustomed as they had been to sights of cruelty! These were the prisoners, whom Assalini, in his very able work on the plague, alluded to, when he says, that for three days the Turks shewed no symptoms of that disease, and it was their putrifying remains which produced the pestilential malady which he describes as afterwards making such ravages in the French army. The bones still lie in heaps, and are shewn to every traveller who arrives; nor can they be confounded with those who perished in the assault; since this field of butchery lies a mile from the town.

Such a fact should not, however, be alledged without some proof, or leading circumstance stronger than assertion being produced to support it; but there would be a want of generosity in naming individuals, and branding them to the latest posterity, with infamy, for obeying a command, when their submission became an act of necessity; therefore to establish further the authority of the relation, this only can be mentioned,—that it was Bonn's division which fired, and thus every one is afforded the opportunity of satisfying themselves respecting the truth, by enquiring of officers serving in the different brigades composing this division.—P. 72. * * *

The next circumstance is of a nature which requires, indeed, the most particular details to establish; since the idea can scarce be entertained, that the commander of an army should order his own countrymen (or if not immediately such, those amongst whom he had been naturalized) to be deprived of existence, when in a state which required the kindest consideration. *But the annals of France record the frightful crimes of a Robespierre, a Carrier; and historical truth must now recite one equal to any which has blackened its page.*

Buonaparté, finding that his hospitals at Jaffa were crowded with sick, sent for a physician, whose name should be inscribed in letters of gold, but which from weighty reasons cannot be here inserted: on his arrival he entered into a long conversation with him respecting the danger of contagion, concluding at last, with the remark, that something must be done to remedy the evil, and *that the destruction of the sick at present in the hospital, was the only measure*

* Buonaparté had in person inspected previously the whole body, amounting to near five thousand men, with the object of saving those who belonged to the towns he was preparing to attack. The age and noble physiognomy of a veteran Janissary attracted his observation, and he asked him sharply, "Old man, what did you "do here?" The Janissary undaunted, replied, "I must answer that question by asking you the "same; your answer will be, that you came to "serve your Sultan; so do I mine." The intrepid frankness of the reply excited universal interest in his favour. Buonaparté even smiled. "He is saved," whispered some of the aids de camp. "You know not Buonaparté," observed one who had served with him in Italy, "that "smile, I speak from experience, does not proceed from benevolence; remember what I say." The opinion was too true! The Janissary was left in the ranks, doomed to death, and suffered!

which could be adopted! The physician, alarmed at the proposal, bold in the confidence of virtue and the cause of humanity, remonstrated vehemently, representing the cruelty as well as the atrocity of such a murder; but finding that Buonaparté persevered and menaced, he indignantly left the tent, with this memorable observation: "*Neither my principles, nor the character of my "profession, will allow me to become a human "butcher: and, General, if such qualities as "you insinuate, are necessary to form a great "man, I thank my God, that I do not possess "them.*"

Buonaparté was not to be diverted from his object by moral considerations: he persevered, and found an apothecary, who (dreading the weight of power, but who since has made an atonement to his mind, by unequivocally confessing the fact) consented to become his agent, and to administer poison to the sick! Opium at night was distributed in gratifying food, the wretched unsuspecting victims banqueted, and in a few hours *five hundred and eighty soldiers, who had suffered so much for their country, perished thus miserably by the order of its Idol!*

Is there a Frenchman whose blood does not chill with horror, at the recital of such a fact? Surely the manes of these murdered, unoffending people, must be now hovering round the seat of government, and * * * * * * * *

If a doubt should still exist, as to the veracity of this statement, let the members of the Institute at Cairo be asked, what passed in the sitting after the return of Buonaparté from Syria: they will relate, that the same virtuous physician, who refused to become the destroyer of those committed to his protection, accused Buonaparté of high treason in the full assembly, against the honour of France, her children, and humanity; that he entered into the full details of the poisoning of the sick, and the massacre of the garrison, aggravating these crimes, by charging Buonaparté *with strangling, previously, at Rosetta, a number of French and Copts who were ill of the plague*; thus proving, that this disposal of the sick was a premeditated plan. In vain Buonaparté attempted to justify himself*; the members sat petrified with terror, and almost doubted whether the scene passing before their eyes was not illusion:—*There are records, which remain, and which, in due season, will be produced.* In the interim, this representation will be sufficient to stimulate inquiry; and, Frenchmen, your honour is, indeed, interested in the examination. * * * Let us hope, that in no country will there be found ANOTHER MAN of such Machiavelian principles, as by sophistry to palliate such transactions * * * * * *—P. 74.

* Buonaparté pleaded, that he ordered the garrison to be destroyed, because he had not provisions to maintain them, or strength enough to guard them, and that he destroyed the sick to prevent contagion, and save themselves from falling into the hands of the Turks; but these arguments were refuted directly, and Buonaparté was obliged to rest his defence on the positions of Machiavel. When he afterwards left Egypt, the Savans were so angry at being left behind, that they elected the physician president of the Institute; an act which speaks for itself fully.

PUBLIC PAPER.

Communication from the Imperial Plenipotentiary at the Diet of Ratisbon, on the 26th of October.

His Imperial Majesty has been pleased to announce, by his sub-delegate, to the Deputation Extraordinary of the Empire, that having, agreeably to his anxiety for the maintenance of tranquillity, removed every obstacle which opposed the success of his negotiations at Paris, and having taken for the basis of the conclusive arrangement the supplement of Indemnity offered by the French government itself, for his Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Tuscany, his Majesty hopes to see instantly established an amicable understanding, which will have for its immediate consequence, the most satisfactory regulation of the business with which the Deputation is charged. Since, from the nature of this affair, his Imperial Majesty must reserve to himself a final approbation, he has no doubt but that the co-estates which form a part of the Deputation will content themselves with this preliminary declaration, and will repose in him, on that head, the confidence which he thinks he merits, after having given so many proofs of the sincerity of his views, and the moderation of his sentiments.

(After the perusal of the above Communication, a Declaration to the same effect was made by the Minister of Bohemia.

FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

The Council of Execution to the Inhabitants of Helvetia.

Citizens of Helvetia, the government is assembled at Berne. The events which had necessiated its departure, and those which have preceded its return, are sufficiently known to you. We will not, therefore, speak to you of the past: we wish only to open your eyes to the present, and to seek, if it be possible, your preservation for the future. It is not a requisition of the Helvetic government that will cause the French to march among us; but the First Consul of the French republic cannot suffer factions and civil war to

desolate a country bordering on France; a country attached to France by treaties; and which will for ever be indebted to France alone for the restitution of its independence. There cannot, therefore, Citizens of Helvetia, be any question, at this moment, of dispute, as to this or that system, or on the pre-eminence of this or that opinion; the object is to prevent the occupation of our country by foreign troops, and all the evils that would be the result of it. Only one mode remains to us to prevent those evils; it is that which the proclamation of the First Consul points out to us. Citizens of Helvetia, we counsel not to repel it: it is the last plank by which we can escape shipwreck. The abyss is beneath your footsteps, and your ruin is certain if you neglect to seize it. A general officer attached to the staff of the army of observation on our frontiers, has arrived at Berne, to see with his own eyes, if the orders of the First Consul are punctually executed throughout. He will cause the troops to enter if a single canton resist. Yes, a partial disorder, a single unconstitutional authority refusing to dissolve itself, or an assembly refusing to lay down its arms, will be sufficient to draw down on you this misfortune. Let every citizen, therefore, submit to the constitution re-established, and await in the dispositions of peace and good will the definitive order of things which is announced to us by the mediation of the First Consul. Let all party denominations and hatred be abjured; let a general desire to preserve the existence and independence of our country; let the necessity of preserving for ourselves and our families the feeble resources that remain to us, command tranquillity, and unite all minds. For every true Swiss there can henceforth be but one thought, one end, and that is, the preservation of the Swiss country.

Gibraltar, Oct. 18.—By the Medusa Frigate, Capt. Gore, which arrived here yesterday from Malta, in twenty-one days, we learn that 2,000 Neapolitan troops had arrived there, who were doing duty on the opposite side of the harbour from the British.—A Grand Master had at last been appointed, who is an Italian nobleman now in England; and the evacuation of the island by our troops will probably be delayed till his arrival.—The transports had sailed from Malta for Alexandria, to bring away the whole of our troops now in Egypt; and they were expected at Malta by the 10th of November.—The Medusa fell in with our squadron which sailed hence on the 6th, off Carthagena, all well.—Sir Richard Bickerton had received orders to remain in the Mediterranean, with the whole of his fleet, after Malta was evacuated.

Vienna, Oct. 23.—Three principal objects at present occupy our politics; the first is, the journey which the Archduke will very soon take to Paris; the second is, the fate of the Dutchy of Parma; some say it will be given to the King of Sardinia, for whom England and Russia interest themselves strongly; but it appears from the public acts at Ratisbon, that Russia and France are inseparably united, and that our court can obtain nothing but by their mutual consent.—The Russian grand duke Constantine arrived here yesterday the 22d Oct. and was received with the most distinguished attention. All the Archdukes at Vienna immediately waited upon him, and the Archduke Charles is expected at Vienna, for the purpose of paying his respects to him.

Basle, Oct. 26.—There is yet no certain intelligence of the dissolution of the diet of Schwitz.—The troops of the smaller Cantons, who had returned to Lucerne, under the command of general Auf-der-Maur, received orders from the diet of Schwitz to repair again to Berne, and to re-commence hostilities against the Helvetic troops; but they refused to obey the order, and quitted Lucerne to return to their homes, in spite of the entreaties of general Bachmann, who was at Lucerne, and who endeavoured to induce them to change their resolution.—The provisionary government of Schauffhausen having been invited by that of Zurich to send to it succours, and place at its disposition the contingent of Schaffhausen, returned from the army, has contented itself for the present with sending two deputies to Zurich. The canton of Schaffhausen has received a summons on the part of the Helvetic government, to return under the constitution. At the departure of the last courier, there were about 4000 French in the canton of Basle.

Oct. 27.—A part of the French troops, assembled on our frontiers, is returning to the fortress of Alsace, in the interior of France. The 14th light demi-brigade, which has long been in garrison, is on its march for Marseilles, where it will be informed of its ulterior destination. A part of the 104th, cantoned at Bienne, has received orders to return to Strasburgh. The troops who are on their March from Mentz, and other parts, have received counter orders.—We have here a garrison of two French battalions of the 16th demi-brigade, which had hitherto occupied the Brisgau. The 27th demi-brigade is destined to form the garrison of Zurich, with the 13th regiment of Chasseurs. A battalion of the 104th is going into Argovia. The troops from Geneva and Versoix will occupy the cantons of Berne and Fribourg. We are ignorant whether these troops will be sent against the small cantons. The contingents of Uri, Underwald, Schwitz, Glarus, Appenzell, and the Grisons, have returned home—the staff of general Bachmann is dissolved—the greater part of the persons composing it, as well as their chief, are gone to Schwitz to Reding.—Civil war has broken out with great fury in the district of Zurich, not only on both sides the lake but also in the mountains. We are assured, that the Zurich contingent, commanded by major Ziegler, which, after its return from Berne, had been sent to the districts which had refused to submit to the provisional government, has been defeated by a corps of peasants in the environs of Gruningen.—The constitutional regime has been restored at Schaffhausen. Agitation has ceased in the Frickthal.

Ratisbon, Oct. 27.—The Deputation of the Empire yesterday held its 20th sitting. The minister of Bohemia, M. de Schaant, and the Imperial plenipotentiary, M. de Hugel, communicated two notes, by which they inform that assembly, that the indemnity of the Grand Duke has been finally settled with the French Government, and that this arrangement will be immediately communicated to it. They hope, in consequence, that the Deputation will no longer complain of delays in the business of the indemnities arising from that cause.—The ministers of Brandenbourg, Bavaria, Cassel, and Wirtemberg, have not explained themselves upon the contents of this communica-

tion. Those of Mentz, Saxony, and of the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, have, on the contrary, testified to the sub-delegate of Bohemia, their joy at this happy event.—The Deputation, in the same sitting, agreed to the conclusum, relative to the future maintenance of the upper clergy of Germany, and its functionaries.—M. de Hugel, the Imperial plenipotentiary, yesterday gave his formal adhesion to the conclusum of the 21st, by which the Deputation of the Empire has adopted the general plan of indemnities of the 8th.—We have been informed this day of the negotiations which have taken place touching the indemnities of the Grand Duke, between the court of Vienna and the French Government. The following is a brief sketch: The plan for investing the Archduke with all the ecclesiastical possessions in Suabia having been rejected at Paris, Count Cobentzel received on the 8th of last September, orders to demand from the French Government the exchange of the right bank of the Inn against the Austrian possessions in Suabia. This proposition having met no better reception, that ambassador was authorised to present another projet, offering to the Grand Duke Prince Ferdinand, besides the country of Salzburg, and the other possessions conferred upon him by the plan of indemnities, a mass of abbeys and other ecclesiastical properties which should make his annual revenues amount to 1,800,000 florins. This is the plan which is said to have received the approbation of the First Consul, and which has served for the basis of the Convention that has been concluded at Paris.

Oct. 28.—We have received positive intelligence that Aloys Reding has again convoked the diet of Schwitz, and read to them the summons of general Rapp, inviting them to dissolve themselves.—After an animated discussion the assembly determined not to obey the summons, and to remain united. The proclamation of the First Consul indeed has produced no effect in any of the Eastern Cantons. The authorities established by the insurgents at Zurich, in the petty Cantons, in the Grisons, and at Lucerne, are still in vigour. The provisional government of Zurich passed on the 25th inst. a decree which proves that it is in no manner disposed to lay down its usurped power. It has dissolved all the tribunals of the district, as well as the tribunal of the canton, and has supplied their place by a provisional tribunal in each district, composed of a president and eight judges.

Hamburgh, Oct. 29.—Yesterday, at nine o'clock in the morning, a general meeting of the Senate and principal Burgesses of this city took place at the Town-Hall, and lasted till near six o'clock in the afternoon. This meeting had, amongst other things under consideration, the proposed cession of the rights, privileges, and revenues, which his Britannic Majesty, as Elector of Hanover, possesses in the Cathedral of Hamburgh, its precints, and the dependencies belonging to it on the Hamburgh territory. Some notes from the Regency of Hanover, and from the King of Denmark, in his quality of Duke of Holstein, against the plan, were also taken into consideration; but the result of the debates still remains a profound secret.—The exchange of couriers between Vienna and Petersburg becomes brisker every day, and the dispatches received are reported to be of the utmost political importance. At some ministerial conferences which lately took place, both the English and Russian ambassadors assisted, but Citizen Champagny was not present.—The news of the death of the Duke of Parma has occasioned no small sensation at Vienna, and some negotiations will, it is said, immediately be set on foot in favour of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, which will be supported with the whole influence of the Russian cabinet. It is currently reported that the Grand Duke of Tuscany is to marry a Russian princess.—A gentleman of the court has been sent as courier to the Archduke Charles, at Prague, to induce his Royal Highness to hasten his return to Vienna, to be present at the festivities to be given in honour of the Grand Duke Constantine.—Advices from St. Petersburgh, of the 15th instant, mention, that the officer who invented the story of a conspiracy against the life of Alexander I. and wounded himself with a pistol to give more sanction to his wicked invention, has been tried by an imperial special commission, which not only found him guilty of the charges preferred against him, but sentenced him to be quartered alive by four horses. This sentence, however, was too severe for the humane feelings of the Emperor, who changed it into perpetual banishment.—In several parts of the Northern Continent of Germany, and on the right bank of the Rhine, large herds of bullocks are now purchased for the English market.

Oct. 30.—The provisional government sent back the circular letter of the Helvetic government without opening it, and have resolved to wait for the arrival of the French troops before they yield. The insurgents begin to throw up entrenchments in the mountains. The number of French troops which will occupy Swisserland are estimated at more than 30,000.—A battalion of the 27th French demi-brigade is arrived at Zurich. General Serras has fixed his head-quarters in that city. The provisional government has been summoned to dissolve itself. It had already received a like summons on the part of the executive council, but it paid no regard to it. The troubles which have broken out in this Canton are not yet appeased, although the contingent of Schaffhouse has been sent to the succour of the city of Zurich. We are even assured that it has sustained a complete defeat. The inhabitants of a great part of the Canton of Schaffhouse, in support of the Helvetic government, have formed a kind of congress, which has recognized the legitimate authorities, and sent a courier to Schwitz to recall from the diet of the confederates the deputies of that canton. Those of our own have done the same.

"Berne, October 30.

"Citizen Minister—The council of execution "have received the letter, by which you communi- "cate to it the decree of the First Consul of the "25 Vendemiaire, which appoints you minister "plenipotentiary from the French republic to "the Helvetic republic. The First Consul could "not manifest in a more striking manner his be- "nevolent intentions towards Helvetia, than by "adding to the military powers with which you "are invested, diplomatic fonctions, which, pla- "cing you in immediate contact with the govern- "ment will furnish it with numerous opportuni- "ties to call your attention to the means of ob- "taining the object of the First Consul, which is "the re-establishment of order and tranquillity in "this country."

"To General Ney."

General Rapp arrived the 25th at Basle. On

the same day the insurrectional authorities were dissolved. On the 26th entered at Basle the 1st. battalion of the 104th, the 2d of the 16th, the 2d of the 42d, and the 1st of the 80th demi-brigade; besides the thirteen regiments of chasseurs, and six pieces of artillery.—Letters from Arau state, that in the night between the 26th and 27th, the tocsin was sounded in several villages of Argovia. The peasants are assembling in great numbers, and have taken up arms. In the Canton of Baden the insurrection is also become general. The city of Arau was under the greatest alarm, when on the morning of the 27th, five companies of French infantry entered there with two pieces of cannon. Other detachments occupy Olten, Arbourg and the whole country.—We learn from Zurich that that Canton is in the greatest disorder; but the inhabitants of the district of Wald, and a great number of republicans of other districtt, having taken up arms, have taken possession of Winterthur, and threaten to march to Zurich. The Diet of Schwitz, they say, has consented to dissolve itself; but it persists in disowning the authority of the Helvetic Government. This obstinate folly cannot but have the most disastrous consequences for our country. The French troops have not yet entered into the Grisons, as has been said. The national prefect of that country, after having suffered from the insurgents a detention of more than six weeks, has been set at liberty.—The first use which he has made of it has been to repair into the bosom of the authority, and to summon it to dissolve itself. It has taken that part, but reserving its rights in the same manner as the Diet of Schwitz. General Ney set out yesterday for Olten. Citizen Verninac is preparing to set out for Paris.

Paris, November 1.—The First Consul staid a long time in the field of battle at Ivry, where the mayor and the principal inhabitants of the commune pointed out to him the different positions of the two armies. He ordered that the pyramid raised on the field of battle, and which had been destroyed during the revolutiou, should be re-established.—He ordered also that there should be added an inscription, declaring that the misfortunes experienced by France at that epoch, were the result of the appeal made by the different parties of France to the Spanish and English nations, and that every family and every party which calls foreign powers to their aid, has merited, and will merit, to the most distant posterity, the curses of the French people.—The mayor of Ivry delivered the following address to the First Consul:—"General First Consul,—The Commune of Ivry could not have expected to receive in its bosom the hero of France, and the pacificator of Europe. Your exploits, General First Consul, recall to mind those of the hero, who, in the plain of which it bears the name, conquered, and was immortalized—Your regards, General Consul, are worthy of the great deed which are past, and they leave to posterity the remembrance of two great men."—The First Consul entered Evreux at four in the evening. The mayor presented the keys of the town. It would be difficult to express the sentiments of attachment and gratitude which the people testified towards him on his progress.—At Louviers, he visited in detail the manufactures of that town, and particularly that of Citizen Decretot.—At Pont-de-l'Arche, he went to the copper-forges of Romilly, to which he paid much attention: he distributed to the workmen of the manufactories that he visited, extraordinary gratifications.—At Evreux, twenty girls, the oldest not twelve years of age, were presented to Madame Buonaparté.

General Murat arrived at Milan, on the 19th instant, with his family.

The King and Queen of Etruria arrived at Barcelona on the 3d of October, five days after their departure from Leghorn. The Queen, although recently delivered, disembarked on the 5th, in the best state of health.

We read in the Journal of Rouen of the 30th ult. that the First Consul was certainly expected that morning. They had prepared and decorated at the Theatre of the Arts in that city, the places destined for the First Consul, Madame Buonaparté, the Minister of the Interior, and the superior officers who accompany them.—The First Consul was expected at Rouen on Saturday.—"One hundred young men (says a letter from thence of the 29th), formed into a company of horse, are assembled at this moment, and only wait for the arrival of the courier, who is to announce the hour of his arrival. Their uniform is the frock and pantaloons, yellow buttons, French hat, with a plume of feathers and a belt.—The Chamber of Commerce, and all the merchants are assembled to give the First Consul a fête in their hall."

Paris, Nov. 6.—(Moniteur.)—What is the interest which the faction hostile to Europe, takes in the Swiss Insurgents? It is easy to see that it would make of Switzerland a new Jersey, to weave plots there, pay traitors, circulate libels, welcome all criminals, all the enemies of France, and do on the East, what it does constantly, by means of the position of Jersey, on the West. It would thereby have this particular advantage, of being able to disturb the fine manufactures of Lyons, which are rising from their ruins, and which lay a hand of steel upon the balance of trade, in order to make it lean in favour of French industry.—What is the interest of France? It is to have none but good neighbours and sure friends.—In the south, the King of Spain, the ally of France from inclination as well as from interest, and the Italian and Ligurian Republics, which enter into her federative system.—Switzerland, the Duke of Bavaria, the good Prince of Baden, the King of Prussia, Holland, to the north and east.—The faction hostile to Europe, and which wishes to agitate the Continent, will neither find in those states accomplices nor sufferance. Yet those agitators never sleep: they have attempted at the same time at Genoa, in Switzerland, in Holland. Their plots assumed consistency in Switzerland, when the proclamation of the 8th Vendemiaire calmed every thing. Every thing has returned to its natural state, into that state which on all sides will exhibit the fine territory of France surrounded by friendly people.—That situation is the result of ten years triumphs, of hazards, of labours, and immense sacrifices. The Peace of Luneville, the preliminaries of London, and the Peace of Amiens, far from having changed it, have consolidated it.—Why attempt

now what they could never hitherto accomplish? Do they think we are become cowards? Do they believe we are less powerful than we have always been? —*It is easier for the waves of the ocean to root up the rock which has braved the fury of them forty centuries, than for the faction, hostile to France and to man, to revive war and all its fury in the bosom of the West, and above all, to dim the lustre of the Star of the French people for a moment.*

DOMESTIC.

Several recruiting parties of the guards have left London within this week.

At the feast of the installation of the Mayor of London, which was, as usual, held on the 9th instant, the "*blessings of peace* were represented by a display of the weapons of war *reversed*, and *agriculture* and *industry* were seen joining hand-in-hand."

The French Minister Plenipotentiary, ANDREOSSI, arrived in London on Saturday, the 6th instant, at one o'clock in the morning.

Lord Whitworth and his suite arrived at Dover on Tuesday, the 9th instant, between three and four o'clock, and embarked, on the 10th, for Calais.

On the 10th instant, a court of directors was held at the East India House, when George Hilaro Barlow, Esq. was appointed to succeed to the government-general of India, upon the retirement of Marquis Wellesley.

A person, whose name it appears is Richard Neild, gained admittance at Buckingham-house on Tuesday morning, between nine and ten o'clock. He had penetrated beyond the lodge before he was recognized, and was proceeding to the interior of the palace. An alarm was given, and he was immediately apprehended. He exhibited every symptom of a man deranged in his intellects; he said he was the son of the prophet, sent on a divine mission from the Lord, and uttered various other extravagancies, equally indicating a distempered brain: he was secured, and it appeared he was from Birmingham, and by trade a chair-maker, and that he had been last year apprehended for lurking about the palace. The result of his examination was, his committal to Tothil fields Bridewell, from whence, do doubt, he will be removed to Bethlem Hospital.

Dublin, Nov. 6—A meeting of the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common council, was yesterday held, to consider the steps necessary to be taken by the corporation, upon the subject of a charge made against *an Alderman*, of drinking as a toast, the health of "*James Napper Tandy, General of Division, and success to freedom*," when the opinions of the Attorney-General, and the Recorder, that *the crime was punishable by indictment*, were read. As the former part of this business was conducted in private, we deem it unnecessary to state more of the particulars, than that the alderman accused having appeared in the commons' room, and made a full submission and *ample apology for his misconduct*, a general disposition seemed to prevail, *of letting the matter die away*; but the papers upon the subject were referred to the law committee.

STOCKS.	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THU	FRI.
Bank Stock.	—	—	—	—	180	180
3 pr.C.R.An.	67⅛	66⅞	—	—	67	66¼
3 per C. Con.	68¼	67⅛	—	67⅜	67⅝	67¼
4 pr C. Cons.	83¾	83⅝	—	83⅝	83⅝	83½
5 pr Ct. Ann.	100⅜	100⅜	—	100¼	100⅜	100⅜
Bank L. Ann.	19⅛	19¼	—	19 11/16	19 11/16	19 11/16
D°S. 1778 & 9	—	—	—	4½	—	—
5 per Ct. 1797	99¾	99⅞	—	99⅞	99⅞	99¾
Omnium ...	10½ di	10½ di	—	10¼ di	10¼ di	10¼ di

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

AMSTER. C.F.	11 2	2 us.	LEGHORN	51¼	
D°, at sight	11		NAPLES	43½	
ROTTERDAM	11 3	2 us.	GENOA	47¼	
HAMBURGH	33 4	2 us.	VENICE, 54 livres piccole effective per £. ster.		
ALTONA....	33 5	2 us.	LISBON	68	
PARIS 1 day	23 15		OPORTO	68	
PARIS.....	24 2	2 us.	DUBLIN.....	12	
BOURDEAUX,	24 3		BILBOA.....	36¼	D°
CADIZ	36¼	eff.	AGIO, bank on Hol.		p.
MADRID ..	36⅜	effective			

Days.	M's agge.	Weather, near *Guildford.*	Winds. M.	Winds. A.	Barom. Inch. M.	Barom. Inch. A.	Ther. Deg. M.	Ther. Deg. A.
4		Fros. Fine	NE	NE	29,63	29,66	37	51
5		Rain.	SE	SE	29,6	29,55	47	48
6		Fair.	E	NE	29,76	29,82	48	50,5
7		Misty.	NE	NE	29,8	29,65	34	41
8		Frost Fine	NE	NE	29,8	29,78	38	44
9	○	Frost Fine	NE	NE	30	30	33,5	42
10		Frost Fine	NE	NE	30,0	29,84	28	40

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD HAWKESBURY,

His Majesty's Sec. of State for Foreign Affairs.

MY LORD,—Since the date of my last letter (p. 532), a French Ambassador has arrived: one small point has thus been conceded by Buonaparté, and of this, I doubt not, you and your colleagues will make the most. But, all the substantial differences remain to be settled; and, without particularizing them, it is evident to every beholder, that they amount altogether, to something very little short of war. Thus situated, then, it behoves us, as I before observed, to enquire into *the change which these six months of peace have made in our position, naval and military, domestic and foreign.*

Before, however, I enter upon this enquiry, it seems not improper, nor altogether unnecessary, to remind your lordship, that this uncertain state of things is not only the consequence of the peace of Amiens, of that peace for which you called upon the nation to rejoice, and of which you expressed a desire *to be known to posterity as the author*, but that, you and your colleagues were, in due time and place, warned that such would be the consequence of that compact; a warning which you treated with that superciliousness, which never

fails to mark the deportment of the low-minded when exalted to power.

The consolation of those who attempted to defend the preliminaries, whether in parliament or out of it, was, that the great sacrifices which had been made, would tend to give *stability* to the peace. *Disgrace* they felt, and most of them, in private, acknowledged; but, disgrace they were willing to bear, because it was accompanied with security for *durable repose*. "The terms are such that they have *left nothing to biggle about*." On this standing answer to every objection urged against the preliminaries, it was observed by Lord Caernarvon, in his speech on the 3d of November, that "some noble lords would have "silenced all their apprehensions by a per-"suasion, that this peace will have left us "*no bone of contention:* it is," said his lordship, "a singular argument for the surren-"der of every thing valuable, that we shall "enjoy the beggar's security, who CANTAT "VACUUS CORAM LATRONE; but the pre-"sent, or future, ruler of France may "again adopt the maxim, DELENDA EST "CARTHAGO, before the rest of Europe "have renewed their exhausted strength; "and, *every principal point is left for future "discussion, while the preliminaries only tend "to shew how much disposed we are to renounce "every thing for peace*."—The Bishop of Rochester described the peace as the "*sem-"blance*, the *counterfeit*, the *pretence* of "peace, which contained in it the *germs of "future war*, and possibly of the ruin and "destruction of this country." Lord Fitzwilliam, quoting the words of Lord Grenville, called it "a *hollow and precarious "truce*, that carried with it no symptoms of "*security* or *permanency*." Doctor Laurence, in the house of commons, on the same day, expressed his marked disapprobation of the *vague* manner in which the preliminaries were drawn up: "As," said he, "we "never, by any treaty, made such sacrifices, "so never, by any treaty, *did we leave such "room for altercation*."—I could go on, my lord, to show, by quoting several other members of parliament, that you had warning, and timely warning, of the disagreeable and dangerous consequence of concluding a peace, in a tone and upon terms, which should render its durability so uncertain: nevertheless, you proceeded to the conclusion of a definitive treaty, which was, if possible, even more vague than the preliminaries. "Almost every thing that, "properly speaking, constitutes the *code of "peace* between nation and nation, must "form the subject of *new negotiations*, in-"stead of being completed to most practi-"cal purposes, as in former cases, by a "definitive treaty of peace, *renewing former "treaties*. Here war ceases; peace *does not* "begin. Every thing *is yet to be negotiated*, "and, when we consider the character of "our rivals and the talents of our ministers, "we cannot doubt in whose favour the re-"sult will prove." These were amongst the observations, which were made and published upon the appearance of what was then called the *definitive* treaty: that they were just your lordship will not, *now*, I presume, have the confidence to deny.

The present state of things was, then, foreseen, my lord, and you were forewarned that it would exist: you were told, that all your concessions would avail you nothing; that they would only whet the appetite of the all-devouring monster, and bring him upon you the sooner. He has not been stayed one single hour by the numerous sacrifices we have made to him; but, on the contrary, has been thereby encouraged to push on with the greater rapidity. You have come to a parley with him, and you will, if possible, patch up another short-lived armistice, which will soon be succeeded by another dispute, and that dispute by another armistice, and so on, for about two or three years, when the people, wearied with a repetition of disappointment and disgrace, will seek a shelter from both in that submission to their conquerors, to which their minds will have been gradually bent. There is nothing so well calculated to break the spirit of a nation, and to prepare it for that sort of revolution, which the French have in store for us, *as an alternate series of disputes and submissions*, which makes a people ashamed, first of their rulers and next of their native land, and which leads them, at last, to abandon both without regret. *Tyranny* has certainly produced some disaffection in the world, but *cowardice* infinitely more: brave men may adhere to those whom they *hate*, but cowards only will adhere to those whom they *despise*.

Since, then, it is, in my opinion, evident, that a prolongation of the present armistice would lead to *certain* destruction, I hope, my lord, that, in spite of your "hereditary "disposition for office," the nation will insist upon war; and, in that case, it will behove them to inquire, as I now propose to do, into *the change which these six months of peace will have made in our position, naval and military, domestic and foreign*.

All the members of both Houses of Par-

liament, and on both sides of the question, with respect to the peace, agreed as to the propriety and necessity of keeping up a *considerable force* by sea and land. I say *all* of them, because the exception of Messrs. Jones, Fox, and Robson, is hardly worth notice. How have the measures of you and your colleagues, my lord, corresponded with this unanimous opinion, with this unanimous desire? Scarcely was the treaty of Amiens ratified, when you began to discharge the sailors and to dismantle the fleet, with as much alacrity as if the French nation had been extirpated; and such admirable dispatch have you made, that, at this moment, we could not, were ever so pressing an exigency to offer, send out of the United Kingdom, a squadron of *ten* sail of the line. Every one knows how difficult it is to man our fleet at the beginning of a war; how long we always are before we are ready for any enterprize, or even for our own defence. I well remember, that your lordship, in stating the relative strength of the two countries, made a proud enumeration of our ships; but, my lord, ships without *men* are only useless masses of timber and iron, and the men who formed the soul of our eight hundred and thirty-four armed ships are now nearly all scattered far beyond the reach of a press-gang. It is said, that from ten to twenty thousand of these men have gone to France. This is improbable; but, I have very good reason to believe, that several thousand have gone thither; and to the United States of America such is their desire to go, that ships bound to that country are now, especially from Bristol and Liverpool, frequently navigated free of the expense of seamen's wages. That the artificers, of which the dock-yards are already stripped, will follow the example of the sailors, there can be no doubt, nor can there be any, that their loss will be most severely felt. This loss, both of sailors and of artificers, would have taken place, to a certain degree, at the peace, whenever and however it might have been made; but, if France had been, by the treaty, reduced within proper bounds, or if we had retained foreign possessions to balance, in some sort, against her acquisitions on the Continent; in other words, if we had preserved, undiminished, our *navigation* and our *honour*, neither poverty nor shame would have driven our sailors and shipowners to France, Holland, and America.

The *army* has experienced a fate similar to that of the navy. In all the kingdom we have not fifty thousand effective men; and we could not bring, even in the space of ten days, *twenty thousand* to act together on any one spot. The militia are disbanded, not only before others are drafted and ready to supply their place, but before others are *balloted* for; so that even this raw, undisciplined, feather-bed army, could not possibly be embodied in less than two or three months. You are sending round engineers to *survey* the coasts; be you assured, my lord, that Buonaparté has better engineers than we have, and that some of them are, too, at no great distance from your lordship. Surveys, my lord, are of little use. We cannot make a fortified place, we cannot make a septagon or an octagon of our island, covered by hornworks and half-moons; surveys of the coast may serve to excite fear amongst ourselves and mirth amongst our neighbours on the Continent, and may, moreover, afford occasion for a few decent and profitable jobs; but, my lord, rely upon it, that, if this our country is to be defended, if this dear little island, "this precious diamond "set in the silver sea," is not at last to be rifled by a host of the most desperate, rapacious, impious, and bloody villains that ever disgraced the human shape, it must owe its deliverance, under God's providence, to the *hearts* and *arms* of *disciplined soldiers*. The sleek-headed shop keepers and manufacturers may hug themselves with the thoughts of their salt-water girdle and of the wooden walls of Old England, and your lordship may feel equally snug behind your tripple rampart of "capital, credit, and confi-"dence;" but, here, upon this land, the French will come, and here we must fight them, and beat them too, or surrender at discretion. In our fleet there is, indeed, great hope, but at best it is only a *hope*: whatever depends, even in the smallest degree, upon the winds and waves, is anything but *certain*. To be in a state of defence, therefore, we must have an *army*, an effective *disciplined* army. Without this species of force we shall be in continual alarm and continual danger. Do you think, my lord, that Buonaparté, or his successor, will ever care to *menace* our coast? No; from this very hour, till some dreadful battle has been fought on the land of England or Ireland, we never shall experience one moment's repose, one moment's real peace. That "eternal war," against which your stupid partizans without doors were intrusted to clamour, began on the 1st of Octo-

ber, 1801; and the moment of its beginning was precisely that which we chose for disbanding our army.

If, by the peace, France also had been disarmed and dismantled, and if no new harbours, fortresses, or other means of safe defence and of annoyance to her neighbours, had been placed in her hands, our *relative* position, naval and military, would have continued the same; and peace might, in this respect, have been as safe as war. But, it so happens, that, by your lordship's peace, the enemy, in every instance, *gains* just as much as we *lose*. Your lordship and your colleagues found him so powerful as to be likely to overcome us, and in order the better to defend us against the fury of his attacks, you took the sword out of our hands and put it into his. This would have been very consistent, had you intended to have surrendered the country to the mercy of Buonaparté; but that you had no such intentions appears now evident, from the orders sent out to retain the unrestored conquests: after giving him fast hold of the sword you are endeavouring, baby-like, to take it again.

Some of our conquered, military and naval stations may, at the expense of a war, be still kept out of his hands; but of others, and those the most important too, he has already taken possession. Minorca and Elba give him great advantage in the Mediterranean; and, if it be true, that he has obtained two ports on the coast of Africa, we must send re-inforcements to Egypt, in opposition, perhaps, to the will of the Sovereign of that country, or see it again occupied by the legions of France, to the imminent danger of our East-India territories.

How far we have proceeded in surrendering our conquests in Africa and Asia is, I believe, not known even to your lordship and your watchful colleagues; and, as I will not suppose, that any man will, in the present state of things, dare to advise his Majesty to make any further surrender in those parts, I will indulge the hope, that the Cape, Pondicherry, and Cochin, are still in our hands. There is, however, no certainty of this; nor ought we to be at all surprized, if the next vessel from the Cape were to bring us the news of that most important post, for *offering to give up which, Mr. Dundas declared that any minister ought* TO LOSE HIS HEAD, being in the hands of the "Batavian Republic;" that is to say, of the Republic of France.

As to the West Indies, unhappily, there is no room for hope; and very little as to South America. We are told, indeed, in the ministerial gazette, that, "as *a balance against French influence in Holland*, we now "ought to keep Surinam, Demerara, Ber-"bice, Essequibo, and Curaçoa;" but, my lord, if these valuable colonies are not surrendered to Holland, it is neither your fault nor the fault of the Dutch. They have lost no time in sending out troops to receive them, nor you in giving orders for giving them up. If, therefore, we yet hold this part of the balance, it is by mere chance that we do it; and the same may be said with respect to the West India colonies conquered from the French, of the restoration of which, however, there can be little doubt. But, if there be an uncertainty as to the recovery, on the part of France, of the possession, there is none as to the recovery of those which were not before in *her* possession, and which are, on every account, the most important part of her West India possessions: I mean Guadaloupe and St. Domingo, of which the peace, and the peace alone, has again given her the command. In these two islands and their dependencies she has now, (thanks to the peace) fifty thousand effective troops, well commanded and appointed. A descent upon the island of Jamaica is the work of five hours sail. This is well known to every one acquainted with the West Indies; and, should a war be the consequence of the present dispute, real property in that our most valuable colony, would sink one-third in value, merely from the change produced by your negotiations, in the attitude and means of St. Domingo, and in the degree of security enjoyed by Jamaica. Then will it be seen, whether it was good policy in us to assist in the destruction of Toussaint; then, my lord, will the nation be enabled to form a just estimate of the wisdom of your lordship, of Mr. Addington, General Maitland, Lords Castlereagh, Ellenborough, &c. &c. who asserted, that the black army was more dangerous to our colonies than a white one could be. The same persons, my lord, who persuaded you, that the reduction of St. Domingo by France was necessary to the *safety* of *our* colonies, will endeavour to persuade you, that Le Clerc cannot find the means of transporting twenty thousand men twenty or thirty English miles across the Channel to Jamaica. Do not believe them, my lord. Le Clerc can, at any moment he pleases, put *two hundred* merchant ships in a state of requisition, together with all the shalloops, sailors, and every other person and thing belonging to them. That it would be use-

less, in a commercial point of view, for France to take Jamaica, when the sea would be covered with our ships, and when it would be impossible for her to derive any profit from the produce of the island; but, this is not the view with which she will endeavour to conquer; her profit consists in our loss; she will not seize for the purpose of preservation, but of destruction, a purpose which she would execute with all that vigilance and remorselessness, for which she is so famous. Do not believe those drivellers, my lord, when they console you with a sort of undefined hope, a sort of general confidence in God knows what, that France *can do nothing by sea.* They have deceived you once already: France *has* done something by sea; she has, *in the space of seven weeks only*, sent *thirty-five thousand men* from Brest, and landed them on the island of St. Domingo; and that too in the most tempestuous season of the year! This expedition, which she executed at the close of a war that had, according to the accounts of our financiering politicians, left her without a groat, is, in every point of view, far greater than any that Britain, with all her eight hundred ships and her three hundred millions of money, never ventured to *undertake.*

But, my lord, the peace restores to the service of France *forty thousand seamen* belonging to herself and her satellites, who, together with those which she will receive from our fleet, will form a fearful augmentation of her means of defence or of attack, by sea, while her army, instead of being reduced, like ours, to a mere skeleton, has been increasing from the signature of the preliminaries to the present day. Here your lordship will again observe: "so much the better: the *paying* of this immense army will "exhaust her." But here I again reply, that she will never be exhausted by such means. There is no fighting her in her 'Change Alley: she has, unfortunately for us, no such field of action: "Capital, credit, and con-"fidence" are not upon the list of her warlike means: her dependence is not placed upon the good opinion of a set of miserable Jews, but upon the arms of her soldiers.

Disadvantageous, however, as would be the change in our naval and military position, disadvantageous as the change always must be from offensive to defensive, we shall suffer still more from the change, which the peace will have produced in our domestic and foreign affairs.

By our domestic position I do not mean our position with respect to trade, revenue, and finance; had I time to go into this subject, I could easily shew, that our trade has already been considerably diminished by the peace, and that, upon the breaking out of a war, we must experience some of the well remembered evils of 1793, without immediately deriving any benefit even from a prosperous campaign; I could show, that the revenue has been materially injured by this same "blessing" of six months, and that, so far from having made any progres in paying off the national debt, which Mr. Addington promised us would be accomplished in something less than *forty-five years of peace*, we shall, in case of a new war, be obliged to add to it about *three millions more than would have been added, in the same space of time, if the war had never ceased!* This is Mr. Addington's way of "husbanding our resources;" this is the effect of that "*safe*" system of politics, of those "*prudent*" measures, for which you and your colleagues have received such applause. This is what Sir Frederick Eden most aptly calls, "improving the *golden* opportunity, "and catching the good that is within our "reach." But this, my lord, is not the part, in which we shall have suffered most by this short-lived armistice: we have money enough: what we are deficient in is a martial spirit, a love of national glory, which, already greatly enfeebled by the system pursued from the very beginning of the war, was extinguished by the peace, almost as completely as it is possible to extinguish a passion so natural and so ardent. You, my lord, your colleagues, and some of your defenders, rejecting with disdain, the plea of *pecuniary necessity*, have held a language tending to make the world believe, that there existed a sort of *popular necessity*; that the voice of the people imperiously demanded peace, even such an one as that which was concluded by the treaty of Amiens; and, that, therefore, if the measure has been productive of evil, *the people and not the ministry are to blame.* Were I to admit the premises, I should most assuredly deny the conclusion. But, far am I from making any such admission, and, were not you, my lord, amongst those, who have preferred this charge against the people, I should not scruple to assert, that they have been most grossly and shamefully slandered. Just such a charge was preferred, at the time when a former attempt was made to conclude a regicide peace. On that occasion Mr. Burke was the defender of the people:—"As to the great majority "of the nation," said he, "they have done "whatever, in their several ranks, and con-

" ditions, and descriptions, was required of " them by their relative situations in society. " They look up to that government, which " they obey, that they may be protected. " They ask to be led and directed by those " rulers, whom Providence and the laws " of their country have set over them, and " under their guidance to walk in the " ways of safety and of honour. They " have, in all things, reposed an enduring, " but not an unreflecting confidence. The " people stand acquitted, if the war is not " carried on in a manner suited to its ob- " jects. If the public honour is tarnished; " if the public suffers any detriment; they, " not the people, are to answer it, and they " alone. Its armies, its navies, are given " to them, without stint or restriction. Its " treasures are poured out at their feet; " and its constancy is ready to second all " their efforts."

Such, my lord, was truly the state of things, when the first regicide negotiations were opened, at the suggestion, and in a great degree, through the means, of Mr. Wilberforce; and such, with very little difference, it was, at the commencement of, and during, the negotiation of the preliminaries to the treaty of Amiens. Yet, it is pretty clearly understood, that the *faults* of the peace is now to be thrown upon *the people*, on " the voice of the nation, to " which ministers paid a *becoming* defer- " ence." Of a measure, which his Majesty has been advised to describe as " *honourable* " to the British character," and to which every epithet of praise has been affixed, by the ministers and their friends; of a measure, of which your lordship expressed a desire to be known to posterity as the author; of the peace, to celebrate which thousands and thousands of pounds of the public money were, by the ministers, expended in illuminations; of the safe, the honourable, the glorious peace of Amiens, the *fault* is now to be laid upon the people! And where, I pray you, my lord, will your advocates seek for proof in support of this charge? Through what channel was " the *voice of the nation*" conveyed to your ears? What *remonstrances*, what *petitions*, have you upon record? Was there, my lord, a single county, was there a single town, in the whole kingdom, that asked for peace? And, in spite of every effort, fair and unfair, to wring from them *addresses* upon that event, did they not come from every part of the country like drops of the heart's blood?

There was no fault on the part of the people: the war was never more popular than at its close, and the " universal joy," as it was called, which was expressed at the peace, only serves to show, how great is the influence of government over the minds of the people, when that influence is exerted with a hearty good will. In this instance it was so exerted, and with a most pernicious effect. The *terms* of the peace were so glaringly disadvantageous and disgraceful, that, to defend the treaty, it became necessary to speak of it merely as something which had put an end to war, and then to speak of war as an evil greater than all others, to describe it as " *the accursed thing*," which must, if not speedily got rid of, produce, some how or other, our total destruction. The defence of the treaty was, indeed, varied, as to manner, style, and phraseology, both in and out of Parliament; but I have here fairly stated the substance of it, such as it was impressed upon their minds. Before motives so imperious as these, on which this defence was grounded, all notions of honour, of justice towards our allies, of liberty, of loyalty, of national independence, and of regard for the happiness of our posterity, vanished in a moment. The people were betrayed by both sides, by the new ministerialists and by the old opposition: by the former, from motives of interest, and by the latter from motives of consistency, or rather of *revenge*.

From this state of mind, from this indiscriminate love of peace and hatred of war, my lord, the country has to pass through many degrees of elevation, before it again attains the altitude, from which it was hurled on the 1st of October, 1801. It may be goaded on to war; but, upon the least reverse of fortune, upon the slightest appearance of danger, upon the most distant apprehension of what the Bishop of London called " famine," it will instantly recoil. Under your auspices, my lord, it has, for the first time, grown reconciled with dishonour: in the treaty of Amiens it stands posted as a coward: you have proclaimed its *inferiority* to France, and thus have furnished it with the poltroon's plea, with at once an inducement to, and an excuse for, non-resistance and submission. Ask the first man you meet, my lord, what he thinks of a renewal of the war with France. He will exclaim against the ambition and the injustice of the French, and then he will conclude with these words; " but, I am " *afraid* they'd be *too many for us*." Dreadful words, my lord! It is the first time they ever were heard from the lips of an Englishman; and, for the sentiment, the base

and cowardly sentiment which they express, the nation is exclusively indebted to the makers and defenders of the peace of Amiens. * * * * I am reluctantly compelled to postpone the conclusion 'till the next number.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.

London, Nov. 9, 1802. WM. COBBETT.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

The fate of Germany appears to be decided. The Emperor (see p. 638) has, by a treaty with France, agreed to accept of a certain compromise for his brother the Archduke of Tuscany; and, thus, with very little alteration, the plan, imposed on the Empire by Russia and France will be carried into effect. His Imperial Majesty has, indeed, shewn, that he has yielded to necessity, and not to the justice of either the principle or the terms of the plan of indemnites: his several remonstrances would serve as a sufficient protest against this unjust and violent proceeding; but, who can hope to see the time, when that protest shall be of any use?

Switzerland, for the independence of which, a few weeks ago, our ministers were going to war, seems still to furnish a fair ground for the interference of any body but those who have sanctioned the Treaty of Amiens. French troops have entered the country, and the larger cantons have readily submitted; but, it appears, that the lesser ones have not. Accounts from Basle of the 31st ultimo, represent the cantons of Schwitz, Uri, Underwalden, Glarus, and Appenzel, as bent upon resistence. The patriots, as they are called, have arms and ammunition, for which they will have abundant employment, as French troops are pouring in from all quarters, for the evident purpose of reducing the whole country to subjection. The number employed is said to be 40,000. This may be an exaggerated account; but, the war will bear a strong resemblance to that lately carried on in the West-Indies; and, without comparing the brave Swiss (for whatever other faults they have, they are brave) to the blacks of Saint Domingo, we venture to predict, that they will meet with a similar fate.—It is impossible to behold the present state of Switzerland, without feeling a desire to shew, from the experience of that country, how vain was the hope of finding, in *neutrality*, a shelter from the all-searching eye and all-devouring jaws of the Republic of France. "If," (says a writer, who is highly indignant at the conduct of Buonaparté towards the Swiss), "If there "were a people upon earth that had claims "to the eternal gratitude of France, it was "the unfortunate Swiss. When France was "assailed, on almost every side, by a com-"bination of powers, such as Europe never "before witnessed; when her armies were "flying before their opponents; when Vur-"dun and Thionville had opened their gates; "and even Paris was trembling for its secu-"rity, did Switzerland then violate her "treaties with France? No.—She persevered, "notwithstanding the very strong solicita-"tions of *other powers*. She persevered, al-"most singly, in her *neutrality*, and that "too at a period *when her feelings must have* "*been wounded by the cowardly massacre of* "*that gallant band of Swiss* who remained "faithful to the unfortunate Louis, when "he was attacked by one part of his sub-"jects, and abandoned by the other." Now, without saying whether this writer took the surest way to justify the Swiss, and to excite compassion in their behalf, what a lesson is here for those members of the British parliament, who contended for *neutrality* as the best defence against the arms and principles of France?

Buonaparté left Rouen on the 5th, and reached Havre de Grace on the 6th. He was expected to return to Paris in a few days; but it is most likely that he will go to Boulogne and Calais, if not to Dunkirk and to Antwerp, as was expected some time ago.

The French official journal has brought us another hostile manifesto (page 592). It is, if possible, more bitter against this country, than that which we had occasion to notice in our last. It repeats, and inculcates, with great vehemence, the notion of our entire *exclusion from the Continent*, and it will, in that respect, doubtless, give great satisfaction to the wise-acres, and particularly to their chief, Mr. Wilberforce. The idea of the "*Western Nation*," too, which was first thrown out by Buonaparté to Mr. Fox, is carefully preserved. It will, by little and little, grow familiar to us; nor shall we be at all surprised to see it, in a very little time, acted upon by many persons in this country. —As a sort of counterpoise to the English press in London, the French have established an English press at Paris. A news-paper entitled the Argus, is published, under the direction of one Louis Goldsmidt, an English Jew. This man has, in all probability, been for a long time in the pay of France. It was he who translated and published (at his *own house*), the work of HAUTERIVE. His printer, at Paris, is one M'Crae, a Scotchman, who formerly carried on his business in London — The WEEKLY MESSENGER, published by Bell in the Strand, is the only English paper which is suffered to circulate

in France. There is an office for the sale of it, open at Paris, by express permission of the government. This paper is conducted by an Italian, named Badini, who has lately boasted, that Buonaparté is about to bestow a reward on him. These facts will sufficiently account for the sentiments contained in that print.—The Argus, which contains the most atrocious libels upon the British government, and upon His Majesty himself, is circulated in this country, by *the clerks of the General Post-Office*, who, to the great scandal of that office, are also news-venders, and some of them news-printers and publishers. The Post-Office, we are sorry to say it, is, and long has been, a scene of great abuses, which, to our knowledge, have been duly repesented in vain, and which we shall, in our next number, expose to the animadversion of the public. Mr. Cobbett, in the month of June, 1801, addressed a letter to Lord Auckland, on this subject, in behalf of himself, and of the news-men and news-paper proprietors in general; and, after having restpectfully waited upwards of twelve months for redress, he thinks himself at full liberty to shew, that if His Majesty be now libelled through his dominions, by the instrumentality of the General Post-Office, it is not the fault of the Editor of this work.

The question of *peace or war* is, as Buonaparté wishes it to be, a matter of greater *uncertainty* than ever. It is said, that he wants us to surrender Malta, and to suffer him to send 17,000 men to India; and it is further said, that he will leave Malta in our hands, provided we accede to the latter part of his proposition. We are far from vouching for the truth of this, though we think it is not altogether without foundation. The fact is, that our ministers themselves do not know what Buonaparté intends to do with them and their country. They are as anxious to learn *news* as any of us. They cannot even *guess* at what will happen during any six succeeding days.—Prince Ruspoli has, we are informed, expressed his resolution not *to accept* of the Grand Mastership of the Order of Malta, which is, in reality, not legally vacant, which has, therefore, been illegally conferred, even if it had been conferred according to the provisions in the treaty of Amiens, and which, were there no other obstacle, would *now* be unworthy of the acceptance of any one entitled to the character of a gentleman.

The political scene, at present before us, is an undescribable medley. While the French Ambassador enters the metropolis on one side, orders go out on the other for putting a stop to the reduction of the army: While omnium is 10½ *per cent.* below par, while every thing has the appearance of war, the corporation of London decorate their Hall with the emblems of "the *blessings of peace*," thereby verifying the words of the wise man:—"Though thou shouldest "bray a fool in a mortar, amongst wheat, "with a pestle, yet will not his foolishness "depart from him."—The stock-jobbers *hope* there will be peace, because they think Buonaparté will not go to war, *'till he has got all our conquests restored to him!*" Truly a most patriotic hope! Whatever foundation there may be for the stock-jobbers' hope (and we are not bold enough to say that there is none), we scruple not to declare, that if our ministers maintain what is called peace upon such terms, they deserve, and we hope they will receive, the punishment long ago allotted to a less crime by the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, who positively declared, that any minister who should ever propose to surrender the Cape of Good Hope would deserve *to lose his head*.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Candidus, who has, in the news-paper called the Star, made some animadversions on the letter of our worthy correspondent, Mr. John Tietenser of Reading, Berks, shall hear from us in our next.—We have received, from another esteemed friend, a valuable communication or two upon the same subject, which we shall not fail to insert in our next.

The Ballad entitled "Addington and Hawkesbury," and sung, as it appears, to the tune of "Mother Saunderson," is under consideration.—We shall be obliged to A. X. for the facts respecting the persons whom Buonaparté employs about the Press in London.—A. R. will see, in our Summary of Politics, that we have by no means forgotten the abuses in the General Post-Office.

*** *There is a Supplement to the present Number, containing a variety of interesting Articles. The former Numbers of this Work have been reprinted, and complete Setts may now be had of the Publisher and the Newsmen.*

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LETTER ON THE PEACE.

This letter, of which we spoke in our last sheet (p. 549), was, as the reader will see, written on the 1st of September, 1801; and it was published in an English news-paper, called the Times, on the 23d of the same month, which was *seven days before* the British public knew, that a treaty was concluded or nearly concluded between England and France. This circumstance is of great importance in estimating the opinions expressed by this foreigner, who seems to have understood our affairs abroad infinitely better than Lords Cornwallis and Hawkesbury. The editor of the Times remarked, by way of preface to the letter, that he "differed in "opinion with some parts of the letter: but "that he preferred the insertion of the "whole, in order that it might be seen what "opinions were entertained of *the unfortunate* "*state of the Continent in the event that Great* "*Britain should make peace with the enemy*. The "writer, said he, argues very ably as a "politician, viewing the situation of this "country at a distance, without reflecting "*on the multiplied inconveniences attending the* "*continuance of the war*; and under this opi-"nion, *he is apprehensive our ministers may be* "*disposed to concede too much*, in order to at-"tain what he conceives would be *a short-*"*lived peace.*"——We shall detain the reader only one moment longer, just to remind him, that the writer of this letter is the gentleman, to whom the Register is indebted for the valuable articles contained in pages 129, 355, and 548.

SIR, *Amsterdam, Sept.* 1, 1801.

For these ten or twelve days past, we have been amused here with rumours of a speedy peace, and by reading your good Times we begin to be seriously apprehensive that your ministers do really think of negotiating a peace with the Arch-Consul. Nobody in England can wish more ardently than we do, but we tremble at the thought of peace, which is to crumble down the *one-half of Continental Europe under the bloody feet of a republican banditti, and which must drive the other half under the iron protection of a Russian knudt*; * and surely *no other sort* of peace can be made at *this juncture*.

It is a singular phenomenon in the history of mankind.—Two States, in the course of a nine years bitter conflict for the extirpation of one another, have doubled their respective national powers! It is but a few years since we saw Continental Europe united with Great Britain in bloody warfare to destroy the French Republic; and now we see that same Continent at the feet of the Prime Consul, and its sovereigns receiving their orders from the aides de-camp of General Buonaparté! It was only a few months ago we saw all the maritime power of the world rallying under the banners of the French chief and his associates, for the express purpose of breaking the heart and vital strings of the British Empire; and now we see all the maritime states of Europe busied in sinking at their own ports the one-half of the scanty wrecks of their naval force to protect the other. In short, we see that Great Britain and France, by a nine years inveterate war with one another, have raised themselves to the absolute dictatorship of the universe. They stand alone, and *equally powerful*, at the head of the civilized world, and to which, as well as to the savage world, they might give laws and civilization without the effusion of a drop of human blood. But Great Britain and France are still inveterate enemies, each government considering the extirpation of its antagonist as necessary to its own existence!

In this state of things, upon what principle are you to make peace? and where are the men equal to the important task? To set out on the old beaten path of political combination and balance of power, you will find none of the former steps or land-marks which guided your negotiators: There are no intermediate powers now to join issue with the one party or with the other; nor is there any power, or combination of powers that can offer a mediation. Great Britain and France stand singly, and by their own internal strength; and are alone in possession of the military theatre of the world. The question of a peace between these two nations, is reduced to the simple alternative for each—Permanent preponderance in its sphere—or rapid destruction.

Will a peace, purchased upon your principle of "indemnity," secure the permanent preponderance of the maritime empire of Great Britain? Buonaparté is at this moment sovereign lord and absolute governor from the Ems to Cadiz; from thence by Otranto to Ancona; and from Mantua to Maestricht; and that dominion renders broken-hearted Germany, the open and feeble coast of Barbary and Morocco, and the European dominions of effeminate Turkey, immediately dependent upon the Military Republic. What have you to

* How exactly has this been fulfilled.

offer to the Republic as an equivalent for her dominion and ascendency over Europe and Africa? Conquered colonies, Malta, Egypt, the Cape, and the *bonne-foi* and pacific moderation of your ministry. But will their philanthropy break down that rampart which Britons have, with streams of blood and heaps of treasure, at length completed around their empire? Then the *British minister* (and not Buonaparté) *will have made the French Republic mistress of the world!* Whatever colonies, posts, or places, you give up, *must necessarily become so many additional acquisitions of power to France:* and in a *double sense*,* because they weaken Great Britain. But the concessions which Buonaparté may sneeringly make to you, cannot add an atom to the power or security of Great Britain, nor diminish in one atom the power of France.

What you give up to Buonaparté or to his dastard allies, and which may be of any value or military importance, will be instantaneously put in such a state of defence, as to secure the possession; but for what Buonaparté may give up on the part of the Republic, you can have no other guarantee than the paper on which the treaty is written. The Prime Consul may at any time sign away Holland, Brabant, Portugal, and Italy, with much indifference; for when he has disarmed you, and is in possession of your ceded colonies, the Republic can resume her dominion over those states at her pleasure: and in spite of any effort of your's to prevent her. To disarm you, and to get possession of your colonies, Buonaparté may even promise to give us back the Prince of Orange instead of Augereau; and he may displace Jourdan, to give the administration of Piedmont to the King of Sardinia; and so on *—But what then? It is only changing his prefects. For since France drew forth and felt her physical and moral force, you can neither give nor secure to any of us our national independency. Why will you then compromise the safety of Great Britain *by augmenting the power of the military Republic with our foreign possessions?*

No living Briton can have forgotten the peace of 1763, nor the resignation of Mr. Pitt, in 1761. When Mr. Pitt resigned in 1761, the British government was in a position to have consolidated for ever the independency of the nation, and the superiority of its maritime commerce; and the moderation, or the ill-calculated table of compensations of his successors, in their peace of 1763, brought the national means of defence to such a level, that in 1781, a random shot might have confined the British Empire to the Island of Great-Britain. The shattered remains of your foreign settlements and commerce were saved at the peace of 1783, by the sottishness of the government of France, more than by your own remaining powers. Great-Britain is now raised (by a train of events which no human sagacity could have foreseen) to where she was in 1761. Mr. Pitt has resigned; but it is to be hoped that *his successor* will not now set down the British Empire upon the capricious will of the cabinet of the Thuilleries, as the successors of his father deposited its existence upon the effeminate depravity of the Court of Versailles.† A second experiment of that sort will be attended with much more risk than the first; the energy of the present republic, or no matter what name you give to its government, will be found much more formidable than ever were the mean intrigues of the old monarchy.

At the peace, or soon after it, all the Spanish settlements in America are, by Lucien Buonaparté's treaty of reciprocity, open to the flag and commerce of the Republic. The settlements of Portugal, as well as of Holland, if your minister has the pacific moderation to leave us any, must be subject to the same fundamental principle

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* We cannot refrain from quoting, here, a passage from Mr. Cobbett's LETTERS ON THE PRELIMINARIES OF PEACE, p. 88 and 89. "All the "territory, all the commerce, and all the revenue, "which your lordship affects to regard as restored "to our ancient ally, are surrendered to our im- "placable enemy. Our sacrifices operate *doubly* "*against us*. Not only do we yield up our "strength and prosperity, but we yield them to "those who will direct them against our exist- "ence. We take the point of our sword from the "breast of our mortal antagonist, and, like a "despicable poltroon, present him with the "hilt." We make quotations of this sort in order to show the public, that the ministry sinned with their eyes open; that they despised advice, and that, therefore, their ignorance, which is quite sufficient to form an excuse for any other folly however great, cannot be pleaded in their defence, on this head.

* Our ministers stopped very far short of this.

† This has been done, not, however, by "the "*successor*" of Mr. Pitt, but *by Mr. Pitt himself*. The writer of this letter, like other foreigners, could have no idea that *Mr. Pitt* would do this thing: but truth, and justice, and the interest of the nation, require, that the deed should be ascribed to the *real* perpetrator.

of the Buonapartian code of universal reciprocity in trade. By the *treaty imposed upon Spain, the republic acquires the sovereignty, the whole Island of St. Domingo*, and also the whole Island of *Porto Rico*, which is to be given up *within the space of three years after the general peace;* and by *our treaty* we give up at the general peace *all our settlements on the main land, that is, in Guiana, with the Island of Curaçoa, to France;* and the government of Batavia is to use all its influence to obtain for the republic *a settlement on the River Ava.* These acquisitions, with what Buonaparté may have extorted, and may still extort from Portugal, might, we think, warrant your minister, however moderate, *to keep fast hold of what he has, and even to possess himself of what more he can get.**

If Mr. Addington thinks it unfair to retain the colonies and settlements of the weaker powers, he should consider, that by the restitution of them he gives them up to France. Where are the national existences of Holland and Portugal, and can our independency ever be secured? And what is Spain? Are we not all three the well-bound appendages of the military republic of France? Or doth your minister purpose to set certain frontiers to the republic, by getting the other powers of Europe to guarantee his treaty with Buonaparté? Pray where are those powers for whom the Consul manifests the smallest attention or respect? The sovereigns of continental Europe are grovelling in a feverish state of mutual jealousies and mistrust of each other; and in the dastard hope of seeing their neighbours more degraded than themselves; these nerveless princes are successively become the cringing courtiers of the republican chief. The armies of the Continent are beaten; their military honours are tarnished, and their courage is crushed into a contempt of their masters. And the people—to keep up armies which have lost their countries, and to maintain governments that for the paltry price of personal safety, have sold province upon province and nation upon nation into republican servitude—are ruined and fatigued. *Conviction has made them dissatisfied, and upon cool reflection they are forced to despise their cowardly rulers.*† No! no! such guarantee as you can procure for us on the Continent, will not avail much. Buonaparté knows the state of Europe, and the characters of its governments, better than you do; and he knows the powers of France better than you are willing to allow that he doth.

It is painful to think that your cabinet should believe that the hero of Marengo *is disposed for peace.* The truth of the matter is, that if Buonaparté appears to you more pacific now than formerly, it *is because the crisis for the execution of some grand project is at hand.** The more moderate and definitive the language of the Prime Consul is, the more vigilant you should be. The less you confide in the personal opinions of your public and secret agents and negotiators abroad, the better your affairs will go. It is not the *souplesse* and intrigues of negotiators that are to consolidate the prosperity of the British Empire; it is to make a proper use of the powers and positions you now possess. If Buonaparté can, in the present disorganized state of Europe, disarm Great-Britain, no matter by what means, he will then have realized three-fourths of the greatest project that ever was conceived by an individual!

We observe you say, "that Buonaparté "did not dare to invade England after the "peace of Campo Formio, considering "such an expedition impracticable." Permit me to observe, that this remark of yours only proves that you knew as little of the general's plan then as your ministry seem to know of the Great Consul's projects now. The evacuation of Toulon, the affairs of Quiberon, and the evacuation of Corsica, with the easy capture and undisturbed possession of all the sea ports and places in Italy, made Buonaparté turn the proposition of a British minister—"that "those who commanded on the ocean "would also command the land" into a *mauvaise plaisantrie;* and made him form the plan, first to cut off the fruit-bearing branches of the British Empire, and to stop up the passages which nourished its roots, and then to make an easy conquest of the withered stock. When Buonaparté sailed from Toulon, he left continental Europe at the feet of the Directory; and he saw almost to reality Asia bowing before his sabre. He laughed at the idea of a naval power whose communication with land was to depend upon his individual will. Nor was there, according to his plan, any

* Would to God that this feeling, and *the cause* for this feeling, were confined to the ministries on the Continent!

† The facts stated in this paragraph should be well attended to.

* The new partition of Germany, for instance.

thing ridiculous in his nominating his army of the East *a wing of the army of England*; for he considered the power of England as immediately depending upon the British interests in Asia. Nor did the general discover the error in his calculation until he saw that the Mediterranean and the Red Sea formed a circumvallation round his new depot, and cut off Egypt from every communication with the rest of the world. He was then convinced that whoever were masters of the sea might eternize their dominion over Egypt; and when Buonaparté met Sir Sidney Smith at St. Jean d'Acre, or rather when he left him there, and heard of the Russian armaments at St. Sebastapol, &c. he first saw that his plan was too large for his means; and then instead of vainly grasping at the wide and growing branches of the British Empire, this champion of military fortune determined, and swore by his enchanted shield to strike a mortal blow at its root.

When the execution of this threat of Buonaparté's may be attempted, will entirely depend upon the measures of the British government. The Prime Consul is on his part indefatigable in his preparations for this grand event; nor will the peace signed and ratified with Mr. Addington in anywise abate his ardour, nor alter his unalterable decree. Buonaparté has partly by his victories, but principally by his code of universal reciprocity in trade, detached all Europe and America from the interests of the British government. The governments of Europe and America are not united with the republic by offensive alliances; (such are only paper securities, as you can tell), but they are united in enmity against Great-Britain, or rather against the British government, upon a principal of mutual national interests; and they are inspired with a sort of vengeful jealousy at your prosperity. So that whatever expedition the Consul may undertake against Great-Britain, he will in nowise be molested from any other quarter.

Russia's convention with you, like the Danish convention for suspending hostilities, are measures of mere conveniency. They have disarranged Buonaparté's present campaign it is true, but they have not in one hair's breadth changed the dispositions of those governments in respect to you. On the contrary, your campaign in the Baltic has determined the Northern courts, and has pointed out to them the means of preventing your squadrons from ever surprising them again.

Great-Britain must stand upon her own bottom, perfectly unconnected with any leaning-stock; and she has a good bottom, which if preserved entire, may long support her against the efforts of the world, were it possible to combine the world against her.

The mild and ignorant leaders of the French Revolution annihilated the Dutch navy, crippled the navy of Spain, and put the foreign possessions of Holland, and some of those of Spain, into your possession; and the extravagance of Buonaparté has put you in possession of Malta, Egypt, and we hope by this time, of the Brazils. Thus, with the French settlements which you also possess, Great-Britain is rendered, what to be any thing she must ever be, *the sole and unrivalled sovereign of the sea*. But, consider the French Revolution is no ordinary assurance. If you give up or lose *your present hold*, you may never be able to find it again; especially, as by carrying an ostentatious formality to perhaps too great a height, the British ministry have also driven military posts and strong holds into the hands of their most powerful enemies. They have given the sovereignty of the Baltic and of the Sound to Russia, and have driven the governments of Denmark and Sweden into the cabinet of Petersburgh. But as things have turned out, it only remains for the British government *to stand firm in its own strength, and to make no concessions either to Buonaparté or to Alexander.*

Buonaparté will most assuredly sooner or later, or whenever you give him an eligible opportunity, attempt the invasion of London; but on your guard he can do you little or no harm. Your late adopted plan of opposing him with arms similar to his own, is the most, or the best reflected arrangement you have made during the war. It disarranges all the Consul's calculations, by preventing the union of his means; and it reflects the highest honour upon its author, as well as upon the noble admiral who is charged with its direction.

Next to France, your most formidable enemy is Russia; and although the unfortunate but honest Paul is dead, it doth not alter your position. Russia and France are now the only independent powers upon the Continent of Europe; and they will *very soon divide the continental world between them.**

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* How fast are events verifying this assertion?

FRENCH EMIGRANTS.

The following observations have been published in a separate sheet, but, the editor of this work, ever desirous to assist, by all the means in his power, to defend the cause of the French Emigrants, thinks it right to republish it here.—This defence appears to have been drawn forth by certain publications, which, some time ago, appeared in two ministerial papers, called the *True Briton* and the *Sun*, and which contained reflections on the character and conduct of the Emigrants, full of falsehood and malice. The chief object of these attacks appears to have been, to drive the last remains of those loyal gentlemen from His Majesty's dominions, and thereby to get rid at once of the charge of maintaining them (or rather of affording them the means of a miserable existence), and of the remonstrances and threats made by Buonaparté, on their account. Mr. Jones, the "*honourable*" the "*independant*" Mr. Jones, proposed, during the last session of parliament, entirely to cut off the allowance to the French Emigrants. Mr. Vansittart had brought up the report of the supplies necessary for defraying expenses relative to "*American Loyalists, Botany Bay Convicts, "and French Royalists*;" whereupon the "honourable" Mr. Jones observed, that he hoped, that the *latter* would, after this, receive no more money from government, as the "*feeding* of them here only tended *to "prevent them from leaving the country*." He might have better said, that it only prevented them from *leaving the world!* If it be asked, why discover indignation at any thing uttered by such a man as Mr. Jones? the answer is, that it is not Mr. Jones, but a *member of the British Parliament*, who speaks in behalf of the nation, and for whose sentiments the nation is answerable in the eyes of the world. Dastardly, however, as was the recommendation of Mr. Jones, it was less so than the attack of the True Briton: the ultimate object of both was the same, but the sentiments of the former tended merely to starve the royalists to death, while the latter endeavoured, by the means of falsehood, to fix on them a charge of perfidy, and, thereby, to rob them at once of their reputation and their bread.—In consequence of these public calumnies it was, that the following observations were written, with a view to explain the grounds, on which the royalists now in England have declined to accept of the amnesty offered them by Buonaparté.

Observations on the Senatus-Consultum of the 6th Floréal (26th April, 1802) concerning the Emigrants.

Certain French journals have of late made attacks on the emigrants in general, and in particular on those in London. Those attacks, it is true, ought not to be very formidable, since they are conveyed in papers which have constantly been the apologists of every revolutionary measure, as well as of the monsters by whom such torrents of French blood have been shed: nevertheless, as those journals may fall into the hands of many persons little accustomed to search such matters to the bottom; and who have never seen the *Senatus-Consultum* of the 6th Floréal, which apparently grants to the Emigrants the power of returning to their country; they may contract prejudices unfavourable to those who think they owe it to themselves to abstain from taking advantage of that law: it has appeared to me that it may be both proper and useful to offer some observations to justify them in the eyes of an impartial public.

When the revolutionary spirit broke out in France, the clergy and the noblesse, which at all times made public profession of their attachment to religion, to the laws, and to their king, strained every nerve to withstand the entire overthrow of their country.

Their opposition irritated the leaders of the factious, who perceived that they never could arrive at their object, so long as those two principal orders of the state should exist: finding it therefore impossible to gain the clergy and the noblesse, they stirred up against them the popular fury over all the kingdom; many of them were cruelly butchered, a greater number treated with every violence, the whole body threatened, and their properties plundered and laid waste. Those atrocities, far from being punished or repressed, were openly and repeatedly encouraged by the ruling party in the National Assembly, which had then usurped the whole authority in the state; and were at last pushed to such extremity, that there was no longer any safety for the members of the clergy and of the noblesse, unless they would contribute to the destruction of the altar and the throne. The King, although apparently still on the throne, was in fact absolutely stripped of all authority. They were no longer in a condition to resist the overwhelming torrent; and were reduced to the cruel necessity of becoming either the accomplices or the victims of the leaders of

the day, who already made no secret of their determination to extirpate religion and destroy the King. Their choice was speedily made; they resolved to abandon their native land, and to sacrifice, if necessary, their whole fortunes, and to remove to a distance from all they held dear, sooner than be wanting to what was enjoined them by their conscience, their honour, the fidelity they owed to their country, and the oath they had taken to their sovereign.

Many members of the third order of the kingdom entering into their sentiments, followed the fortunes of the two other orders; —of such men is the body of French Emigrants composed: and who will be rash enough to assert that they were not then, and are not still the most worthy and valuable portion of the French nation?

The brothers of the King having also left France, the Emigrants considered them as the rightful representatives of his Majesty then in thraldom; and rallied round their standard, to be employed under the orders of those Princes, for the service of their unfortunate Monarch.

The efforts of these august personages for the restoration of order and lawful authority in France, and for preventing the dreadful calamities it has since undergone, not having been crowned with success; the Emigrants dispersed themselves amongst those nations whose humane hospitality offered them a retreat: and from thence they have beheld themselves proscribed, ruined in their fortunes, and treated as enemies by every faction which has successively ruled in France; and there they have supported their misfortunes with a firmness and a courage which have gained them the admiration of all observers; adhering inflexibly to the dictates of honour and loyalty.

Agreeably to this faithful picture, whose truth is known to all Europe, can the French Emigrants, in any sense of the word, be considered as guilty persons? ought they to be treated as criminals? No, certainly:— as sincere martyrs to their religion, their honour, and the fidelity due to their lawful sovereign and the laws of their country, they are entitled to the esteem of all nations; and that esteem they have obtained, and will continue to enjoy; and be the objects of the eulogiums of posterity itself.

What reproach can the present government of France itself bring against them? They withdrew from that country in consequence of the laws enacted by their persecutors, who had decreed that all Frenchmen were at liberty to choose their place of abode, the government which should best suit them, and to retire from the kingdom how and when they should think proper; and that even without any passport: since the retreat of the Emigrants, all entrance into their native land has been absolutely prohibited; or if they attempted it, how many of them have been put to death?—If a small number of them have born arms in the service of the powers at war, had they not acquired a right to do so from the moment when their families were plundered of their all, and their persons were publicly proscribed? Did not the same decrees which authorized them to make choice of the government that suited them, by implication grant to them the right of serving under the standard of that government? Besides, for what purpose did they carry arms: but to overthrow that execrable government, which had been established in their country? and can it be now brought against them as a crime by him who has thought that such a government ought to be overthrown, and who in fact has completely overturned it? Is it very prudent in him to wish to humble, nay, even render contemptible, those men whose principles he ought, for his own sake, to desire to be those of all under his command; principles which form the security of every species of government?

I now proceed to explain and examine the principal provisions of the *Senatus-Consultum* of the 6th Floréal; which in the speeches of the orators of the government is represented to be an act of singular beneficence:

Article I. says, that *Amnesty is granted to every individual accused of emigration*; yet in Article X. it is said, that *one thousand persons may be excepted from the amnesty*, by the government which on the 23d Sept. 1802, will make known the names of *five hundred only* of those proscribed Emigrants: in consequence it retains *in petto* the names of 500, that it may have it in its power to dispose in an abitrary manner of the fate of all.

Article II. directs every Emigrant to return to France *before the 23d of September*, under the pain of being deprived of the benefits of the amnesty: that is to say, that Emigrants are compelled to quit the asylum they enjoy in foreign parts and return to France, before they can know whether or not their names are amongst the *thousand* to be excepted from the amnesty; and who, until the same period, are utterly unknown.

Article III. directs, that every Emigrant, on his return to France, shall, before a com-

missary of the government, make a declaration *that he was an Emigrant, and that he now returns in virtue of the Act of Amnesty*:— that is to say, that he publicly and formally avows himself to have been a criminal: for where there is no *guilt*, there can be no room for amnesty.

What can have induced the French government to desire, that men alive to the sense of honour, and supported by a good conscience, should disgrace themselves so far as to declare themselves guilty, when they have not seen the slightest blame attached to their conduct? Has the government not perceived, that if there were, among the Emigrants, some persons compelled by irresistible circumstances to comply with their requisitions, such persons must suffer more by the terms imposed on them, than by all manner of wretchedness, and by even death itself: who therefore can blame those who will not expose themselves, by a return to France, to such extreme humiliation?

Article IV. requires every Emigrant, on his return, *to take an oath of fidelity to the government*: and Art. XII. directs that he shall *remain under the special inspection of government* for the space of ten years, or even of his natural life; a precaution surely necessary with respect to *suspected persons* alone.

These two articles brought together intimate to every Emigrant, that even when he takes the prescribed oath, no trust is placed in him; on the contrary, that he is regarded as an unprincipled wretch, whom no oaths can bind. Can any thing be more insulting, or more disgraceful for the man who consents to be treated in such a manner.

Article V. requires all Emigrants, on their return to France, to renounce *every sort of pension or other appointment* they may have received from the justice or bounty of foreign states; whilst that government which seems to recall them to their country, not only does not restore to them their properties, most illegally as well as unjustly confiscated; but does not hold out to them, even the most slender means of existence: so that one might imagine they were engaged to return to France merely to exhibit them in all their wretchedness, and to render them despicable in the eyes of their fellow-citizens, by a comparison of their miserable condition with that of those who now wanton in abundance gained at the expense of the Emigrants themselves; and this appears more evidently, when we take notice that they are by the law obliged to renounce the settlements made on them by foreign nations, before they can be certain that they are not in the number of the *thousand* to whom the government does not extend the benefits of the amnesty.

In conformity to the 13th Article, the government is empowered to confine the Emigrants to their ordinary place of abode, or to appoint for them another at pleasure: that is, in other words, that they may be imprisoned or banished, without any means of protection against the most arbitrary orders. Can those Emigrants who have so long enjoyed in England full and entire liberty under the protection of the laws, endure a situation so nearly allied to slavery.

Articles XVI. and XVII. state, that the estates and properties of Emigrants shall be restored to them, with the *exception* of such as the republic *has seized* in virtue of a forced division of successions! of those which *have been sold* or employed for the *public service*; of *woods* and *forests*; duties *payable on canals*; of *demands against the state*; *revenues due*, &c. &c. &c so that these *exceptions* include almost the whole property; and ninety-nine Emigrants out of an hundred will have nothing to recover in consequence of the *Senatus-Consultum*.

Such then is the last law relating to Emigrants, which hath procured so many commendations to the French Government: and occasioned its humanity, its justice, its beneficence to be extolled, not only by the official journals of France, but even by several English writers, who certainly had never read the decree, or who had not fully understood its meaning. Had they examined it with attention, they would have discovered that that law was as impolitic as severe; particularly if they had compared it with the law enacted in Holland on the same subject. The Batavian Government perceived that the only way to put an end to the civil broils and disorders occasioned by the revolution, was to endeavour to reconcile the contending parties, and not to suffer one of them to oppress the other: they have felt, that he who devoted himself to the defence of the government for so many years established in his country, may be unfortunate, but can never be criminal.

The French Emigrants, from the first, perceived clearly, that the provisions of the *Senatus Consultum* were dreadful to them: notwithstanding, many of them, worthy and estimable men, overcome by the desire to revisit their native land, never to be extinguished in the heart of a Frenchman, once more to behold the dearest objects of their affection, and by the earnest and repeated solicitations of relations, have resolved to re-

turn to France, and to submit to all the hardships imposed on them: thus sacrificing themselves for the good of their families. But what did these unhappy men not suffer before they brought themselves to take that step: some are no more; and how many others have shed bitter tears when receiving the last assistance government bestowed on them, that they might be enabled to repair to their families and friends in France.

There is, however, still a great number who, firm and steady in their principles, will listen only to what their conscience, their honour and sense of duty dictate; and who are determined to do nothing, even in appearance, contrary thereto. Having once taken an oath of fidelity to their King, they think they ought not to do so to a government which occupies his place. They feel too powerfully what they owe to themselves and to the French name, to be willing to expose themselves to be insulted and rendered contemptible in the eyes of all nations as well as their own: they have therefore preferred passing the remainder of their days in an honourable exile.

From this explanation of and observations on the *Senatus-Consultum* of the 6th Floréal, the accuracy of which is incontestable, I flatter myself that my readers, while they excuse and pity such Emigrants as have, from the powerful motives now stated, resolved to return to France, will at the same time applaud the firmness of others who have been able to resist them.

These last, far from meriting blame, must have acquired a fresh claim to the esteem and regard of all good men: but in a special manner in England, where they have long enjoyed both; where they have been protected and assisted in a generous manner; and where, better than in any other country, a just value is set on sincerity, honour, and loyalty, and that noble dignity of mind which elevates the man, but which is far removed from overweaning haughtiness and pride.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

1. *On the State of Europe before and after the French Revolution; being an Answer to L'Etat de la France à la Fin de l'An VIII. By Frederick Gentz, Counsellor at War to his Prussian Majesty, &c.: translated from the German, by John Charles Herries, Esq.*—"L'Etat de la France à la Fin de l'An VIII." was written by M. Hauterive, under the authority of the French government; and published at Paris, in the autumn of 1800. Mr. Gentz, in his answer to this work, has shewn great political knowledge, great powers of reasoning, and exemplary temper. In all controversial writings, the shortest and surest path to victory is a clear and accurate arrangement of the subject. This path Mr. Gentz has pursued with complete success. The "*lucidus ordo*," the logical divisions and subdivisions of his materials, raises a prepossession in favour of his integrity, prepares the mind for pointed attention, greatly assists the memory, and enables the reader to judge if the several arguments are fairly applicable to the several positions, and if the different parts of the work form one well-digested whole. Besides the excellence of his arrangement, Mr. G. has great merit in the arguments which he advances under each head: these are always perspicuous, pertinent, full, and, *generally*, convincing. The nature of political reasoning forbids that it should be always conclusive: for the wisest statesman can do no more by argument, than shew a strong probability that certain supposed events will result from certain given circumstances; and we think that most of the positions laid down by M. Gentz, are supported by much stronger reasons than can be brought against them.

The following extracts will (we think), recommend this work to the perusal of every person, who wishes to understand the past, present, and probable state of Europe: and every Englishman must be particularly gratified, in seeing his country vindicated from those false and insidious charges, so industriously propagated by the French writers, that England has long aimed at obtaining a general monopoly in commerce, and the power of tyrannising over all the other maritime states. Mr. Gentz begins his examination of M. Hauterive's "l'Etat de la France, &c." in the following manner:—

"The object of the work we are now about
"to examine, is no other than to shew, that
"Europe is in future to be indebted to the be-
"neficial influence of France, for the main-
"tenance of all peace and security, and for
"the preservation of its social and political
"constitution: that, on account of her situ-
"ation, her relations to other powers, and
"the principles of her present government,
"France can desire and aim at nothing else
"than the common welfare of all nations,
"the independence and stability of all go-
"vernments; and that her political and mi-
"litary greatness, her natural and acquired
"riches, her present system of administra-
"tion, and the advantages of a constitution
"according with the manners and inclina-

"tions of her inhabitants, furnish her abun-
"dant means, not only to maintain the po-
"sition she now occupies, but to protect
"and regulate the nations around her; to
"establish and preserve the equilibrium
"among them; and, in short, to become and
"continue the common centre of a system
"composed of all the states of Europe. To
"arrive at this result, M. Hauterive leads
"us gradually through a series of historical
"and political reflections, the substance of
"which is contained in the following pro-
"positions.—1st. That at the commence-
"ment of the French revolution, there ex-
"isted no effective law of nations, and no
"good system of government; that autho-
"rity was guided by no established maxims;
"and, that the true principles of the politi-
"cal and federal constitution were neglected
"or forgotten.—2d. That the war after-
"wards waged against the French revolu-
"tion, was the necessary consequence of
"this universal internal and external anar-
"chy: it was only the last and open effort
"of that destructive malady which had long
"been preying upon the vitals of every
"state, and destroying the frail fabric which
"supported their connections with each
"other.—3d. That the event of war has re-
"stored France to the place which she ought
"always to occupy, not only for the sake of
"her own security, but for the security of
"all Europe. France is now in a situa-
"tion to give Europe a new federal consti-
"tution, in which its proper place may be
"assigned and guaranteed to each particu-
"lar state.—4th. That the stability of the
"present internal constitution of France,
"(the necessary foundation of its future po-
"litical influence), rests upon the most ex-
"tensive mass of natural, artificial, com-
"mercial, and military resources, of which
"any nation can boast; upon a system of
"administration, simple, regular, and wise;
"upon a happy equality between the in-
"come and expenditure of the state. It
"rests, moreover, upon a government ex-
"actly adapted to the social and moral con-
"dition of the country, perfectly suited to
"the wants and desires of its inhabitants;
"and lastly, upon the talents and character
"of those whom this constitution has placed
"at the head of affairs."—"Such is the
"spirit, such is the argumentation which
"pervades M. Hauterive's work: every
"one, who has read it with attention, will
"admit the justice of this representation;
"and the author himself would hardly refuse
"to acknowledge it. A full examination
"of its principles will be naturally divided
"into four principal parts; the first of
"which will be, *an Inquiry into the State of*
"*Europe before the War*; the second will
"treat of the *Situation of Europe during, and*
"*after that War*; the third will consider
"*the present Relations between France and the*
"*other European Powers*; and the fourth will
"examine *the internal Constitution of the French*
"*Republic*; taking them all, however, in
"those points of view in which the author
"has considered them.—Of these four prin-
cal parts, the three first only * are consi-
dered by Mr. Gentz, under the following
heads of argument:—1st. How far did the
treaty of Westphalia establish a system of
public law in Europe? 2d. How far has
the treaty of Westphalia been subverted by
the civilization of Russia, the elevation of
Prussia, or the commercial and colonial sys-
tem? 3d. Did there exist any public law
in Europe at the beginning of the French
revolution? and herein, of the internal con-
ditions and political relations of France,
Austria, Prussia, Russia, and England.
4th. General observations on the present re-
lations between France and the other states
of Europe. 5th. France, and her allies.
6th. France, and her enemies. 7th. An in-
quiry into the principal causes of complaint
against the commercial tyranny of England;
and herein, of the Navigation Act, the mo-
nopoly of trans-European dominions, and
the monopoly of British manufactures.—
All these several points are very fully and
fairly argued: we can insert only some of
the *conclusions* which Mr. Gentz draws from
his general arguments.—The inquiry into
the object and effects of the treaty of West-
phalia is closed by the following remark,
p. 13.—"Whoever expected that the treaty
"of Westphalia would be the foundation of
"an universal political system to last for
"ever, must have expected more from it
"than any treaty ever could possibly fulfil. It
"has effected all that it could, or was in-
"tended to perform; and, what is more,
"its fundamental principles have endured
"longer, and with less alteration, than has,
"perhaps, been the case with respect to
"any other treaty. Among its fundamen-
"tal principles, however, I reckon only
"those which immediately refer to the con-
"stitution of the German empire, and those
"which regard the relations between France
"and Germany. Before we can determine

* Mr. Gentz has promised a sequel to this work, now under our examination, in which sequel, it is presumed, that an inquiry into the internal constitution of the French Republic will have a place.

" what subsequent events have overturned, " or materially endanged the treaty of West- " phalia, we must proceed to examine how " far either of these fundamental articles " have been affected by them."—The following extract closes what Mr. G. has advanced to prove, that, at the beginning of the French revolution, there did exist a federal constitution, or certain relations between the several states of Europe, for the maintaining a balance of power among them, p. 178.—" I ventured to assert, that " we ought, upon the whole, to be satisfied " with the federal constitution, though de- " fective in several important respects; if " between the principal states composing " that constitution there existed a due ba- " lance of power; if their stability were " secured, their progress and improvement " unrestrained; if the independence of the " smaller states were protected, so much at " least, as, in a community with the strong, " the weak can be effectually protected; " and if there were no such preponderance " on any side, as to threaten the liberties of " the neighbouring states, or endanger the " peace of the whole.—If the preceding " survey of the several relations of the " leading powers be fundamentally accu- " rate, it will not be difficult to form a sa- " tisfactory opinion of that federative sys- " tem which the French revolution found, " and destroyed; and to decide whether " (as M. Hauterive has asserted), before " the revolution all the governments of Eu- " rope were in a position false and unnatu- " ral with regard to one another, oppressive " and ruinous with respect to their sub- " jects."—And, (p. 184.) " If, in the year " 1786, the question had been put to any " candid statesman, (for reason has nothing " to do with the demands of extravagant " enthusiasm), if any reasonable and en- " lightened citizen of the world had been " asked,—Whether it were advisable to im- " prove the social constitution of Europe, " by a general and sudden dissolution of all " existing relations? It is probable that his " only answer would have been a smile of " contempt, or an exclamation of horror. " This dissolution has actually taken place; " and lamentations are now in vain. No- " thing more remains for political wisdom, " than to search among the ruins of the " former edifice the materials of a new one. " But, in order that the mischief may not " be irreparable, we must banish the fatal " opinion, that it was unavoidable; and the " still more fatal one, that it was useful and " beneficial. The disease is too manifest " to be denied; but a false idea of its ori- " gin, conceived by mistaken, and encou- " raged by crafty empirics, has diffused the " specious persuasion, that it was a salutary " crisis, and a necessary step to improve- " ment. Until this delusion be dissipated, " there are no hopes of amendment."—After proving, by a minute examination of the *present relations between France, and the other European states*, the great difficulty of making any effectual opposition to the dangerous preponderance which France has obtained by the final event of the war, Mr. G. concludes this head of argument, with the following important observation, p. 264.—" It " is a characteristic property of all great " disorders in the political system, that they " do as much injury to the states apparently " benefited by the destruction of the ba- " lance, as to the immediate losers, by the " disproportion introduced. It is the true " and permanent interest of every nation, " without exception, to preserve a due pro- " portion between its own strength and that " of its neighbours; and to maintain a just " distribution of power among all the mem- " bers of the federative system. The ad- " vantages of a dangerous ascendancy are " always deceitful; for the public welfare " of a nation cannot be secure without the " satisfaction of its neighbours, and the con- " fidence of the world. An enlightened " policy requires a due attention to these " important requisites of peace, on the part " of the greatest, as well as the smallest " states. Were France to distinguish her " true interests, were the voice of reason " to prevail above the dictates of ambition " and avarice, her statesmen would easily " be convinced that what now is called, by " a shameful abuse of words, the federative " system of Europe, is nothing but a com- " pound of inordinate power on the one " hand, and impotence on the other; in " which no real independence, no stability " or security, and no permanent peace can " exist; and which is consequently incom- " patible with the general welfare."—Of the nature of alliances with France, Mr. G. speaks in the following explicit manner, p. 273.—" The author of the *Etat de la* " *France*, has dignified the alliances of the " French republic with Spain, Holland, and " Genoa, by calling them the first founda- " tion of a future federal edifice. He quotes " them as honourable and irresistible proofs " of the generosity and disinterestedness " of the republic, as assurances of the up- " rightness of her principles, and as the " productions of an almost wonderful poli-

" tical wisdom, &c. Such were the alli-
" ances (though the terms were certainly
" more favourable), of Sicily, Greece, Asia
" Minor, Egypt, &c. with the Romans!
" If the future alliances of France are to be
" formed on these models; if the present
" condition of Switzerland and Holland,
" Italy and Spain, awaits all those to be
" hereafter leagued with the French go-
" vernment, it may well be asked, whether
" the friendship and protection of that
" power are less fatal than her declared en-
" mity. If these relations, formed and
" maintained by force of arms, are to be
" the basis of a new federal system, and a
" future law of nations, Europe must ar-
" dently wish that the superstructure, to be
" raised upon such a foundation, may never
" be completed, &c. Thus have her alli-
" ances been hitherto formed; and thus will
" it be with all succeeding ones. Such
" must, and will continue to be the system
" of politics, when the ascendency of one
" nation has destroyed the security of all;
" when, deprived of every federative safe-
" guard, the weak are reduced to utter
" helplessness, and the law of nations is
" supplanted by the law of force." This picture is faithfully drawn; and the likeness has even become stronger than it was when Mr. Gentz wrote. Nor has Mr. G. shewn less acuteness or judgment in his examination of the situation of France, with respect to her enemies; under which head of argument the following passage deserves particular attention.—Mr. Hauterive asserts, that *France has no natural enemy; she recognises none.* On this declaration of affected magnanimity and insolent superiority, Mr. Gentz observes, that "There do exist natural enmi-
" ties between nations, although a more
" exalted policy may refuse to acknowledge
" them. I mean by *natural enmity*, the rela-
" tions between two states, whose geo-
" graphical, political, or military situations,
" or some object common to their industry
" or desires, though not equally attainable
" by both, induce a state of continual jea-
" lousy, and, consequently, of continual,
" more or less active opposition. Such was
" the relation formerly subsisting between
" Carthage and Rome; two nations, whose
" irreconcileable enmity, so conspicuous
" in history, presents an instructive lesson
" to mankind. In the same relation towards
" each other, have France and England
" stood since the beginning of the seven-
" teenth century, from the moment when a
" large portion of the industry, the power,
" and the glory of both began to be founded
" upon an extensive commerce; when the
" policy and ambition of both began to be
" principally directed towards remote set-
" tlements and colonial monopoly, and to a
" powerful marine, as the necessary means
" of securing these advantages; and when
" each became the centre of a distinct fe-
" deral combination, and struggled with
" its rival for the first place in the general
" system of Europe. All these natural
" sources of perpetual opposition have con-
" tinued, under different appearances, and
" with various results, until the present
" day: they will still continue to exist, and
" to produce the same effects. And al-
" though we may hope that wisdom and
" prudence will moderate their fatal influ-
" ence, and avert from ourselves and our
" posterity the shocking tragedy of an in-
" ternecine war, yet this deep-rooted and
" extensive rivalry must be taken into the
" account, in every political reasoning, as
" one of its constant and most important
" elements. On the other hand, it is equally
" certain, that France, before the revolu-
" tion, stood towards no continental power
" whatever in the unfortunate relation of
" a natural enemy, &c. The revolution
" could not but fill Europe with apprehen-
" sions of the most alarming nature, and
" inspire all that surrounded France, whe-
" ther friends or enemies, with fear, re-
" sentment, or disgust. But had the fede-
" ral constitution of Europe been replaced
" on its former footing, at the close of that
" revolution, had the French nation re-
" curred to its former limits, or the balance
" of political and military power been re-
" stored; whatever might have been the
" final result of her internal convulsions,
" the relations of peace and amity former-
" ly subsisting between France and all the
" continental powers would, in some
" way or other, have been re-established.—
" Is that now to be hoped or expected?
" All Europe bleeds at the wounds inflict-
" ed by the aggrandisement of France;
" and her dreadful preponderance still
" threatens, like an impending storm ready
" to burst over the heads of a trembling
" world. Do we here find the materials
" for a system of peace, of mutual confi-
" dence and security? Does this con-
" strained relation present the prospect of
" a happy renewal of the bonds of federal
" union? Is not the whole system, so long
" as it may yet endure, forced on the con-
" trary to maintain an armed and constant
" opposition to France? And does not
" such an armed opposition resemble in

" many essential respects, a state of per-
" petual war?—The truth therefore is,
" that France, who before the revolution
" had no natural and permanent enemy on
" the continent, is now (in a certain sense
" of the word) surrounded by nothing but
" enemies. She may, relying on her great
" power, continue to despise these ene-
" mies: she may even, by moderation and
" equity in her proceedings, disarm their
" mistrust for a time: finally, by the coin-
" cidence of temporary interests, she may
" perhaps obtain the alliance of one or
" other of them. But all this does not in-
" validate the grounds of my assertion: I
" still hold by what is permanent and es-
" sential in the political system. And to
" the assertion—that *France now acknow-*
" *ledges no natural enemy*—I oppose one,
" which is certainly more conformable to
" reason and experience, than in the com-
" mon course of things, a nation, situated
" as France now is, *cannot reckon upon any*
" *natural friend.*" The following extract, which concludes Mr. Gentz's *Inquiry into the principal Causes of Complaint against the Commercial Tyranny of England*, must give peculiar pleasure to every English reader; especially when he recollects that this complete vindication of his country is written by a foreigner, entirely unconnected with England, and consequently unbiassed by any party-spirit or national prejudice. — " I
" conceive that the foregoing observations
" have nearly fulfilled the object I had in
" view. My design was to rectify the pre-
" vailing opinion, with respect to the dan-
" gers and evils arising from the com-
" mercial superiority of England. I flat-
" ter myself I have sufficiently proved, that
" neither the maritime statutes of Great
" Britain (I speak of her domestic regula-
" tions) nor what is called the British mo-
" nopoly of colonial produce, nor the in-
" disputable superiority of her manufac-
" tures, afford any real or just cause of
" accusation or complaint. In my inquiry
" into these complaints, I have uniformly
" adhered to those principles, which every
" enlightened mind now reverence with un-
" qualified assent; which alone can lead to
" the perfection of political economy; and
" from which Europe has to expect the most
" important improvements in every branch
" of general welfare. On these indispu-
" table principles, it is evident that what
" the ignorant multitude, instigated by so-
" phistical declaimers, decry as the com-
" mercial tyranny of the English, is in re-
" ality a most essential part of the wealth,
" an active principle of the industry, and
" a fruitful source of the present and fu-
" ture riches of all nations: that the only
" method of diminishing the superiority of
" British industry, which can be recom-
" mended or admitted, is the promotion
" and encouragement of the same activity
" in other countries, which would benefit
" the whole without injuring England; and
" that every project for actually destroying
" the foundations of Britain's power and
" commercial greatness, by direct and vio-
" lent attempts upon it, must ultimately
" prove its author an enemy to the general
" welfare of Europe. In her *peaceful* rela-
" tions we see England in constant and
" perfect harmony with the interests of the
" social system of Europe. If she have
" any way deserved the reproaches of her
" numerous adversaries, the causes must
" be sought in *other* relations; they must
" be founded on her conduct in war to-
" wards countries not immediately en-
" gaged in it; and on the abuse of her
" well-earned superiority, in her oppres-
" sion of the weak. How far they really
" are so, will be discussed in a sequel to
" the present work."—We hope that the importance and merit of the foregoing extracts will apologize for their length.—To his translation of Mr. Gentz's book, Mr. Herries has prefixed an introduction of considerable length. It contains an historical account, fairly and clearly written, of the conduct and motives of the Northern Powers, which were parties to the armed neutralities. But the unreasonableness of the pretensions set up by those powers, and the vindication of the maritime code as practised and insisted upon by England, have been more largely and far more ably discussed by Dr. Croke in his excellent " Remarks on Mr. Schlegel's work upon
" the Visitation of Neutral Vessels under
" Convoy."—The following is the only passage in this introduction which we shall particularly notice. Mr. Herries has said (p. 72).—" The treaty of the 17th of June,
" 1801 *(with Russia)*, does great credit to
" the ministry by whom it was concluded;
" and we may rest assured that, under
" their guidance, the honour of our coun-
" try will be effectually asserted, and its
" interests vigilantly guarded." The prophetical part of this eulogy has been woefully falsified; and against this unqualified approbation of our treaty with Russia we enter our formal protest. Because it appears to us that in the third section of the eleventh article of this treaty, in which

section is specified "what shall be consi-" dered as contraband of war," no mention is made of hemp, cordage, sail-cloth, pitch, or masts. Yet of most, if not all of these articles consists the far greater part of the cargoes imported from Russia and Sweden, for the purpose of supplying the dock-yards of different states with warlike naval stores. It would not be difficult to point out other objections; but it is not our intention to review Mr. Herries introduction, which we are of opinion will do neither harm nor good.

2. *Thoughts on the late General Election, as demonstrative of the Progress of Jacobinism.—By John Bowles, Esq.*—Mr. Bowles endeavours to awaken the nation and the government from that state of *imaginary security*, into which they were lulled by *the sound of peace*. After giving a concise and accurate account of the Jacobinical proceedings at Norwich, at Westminster, at Coventry, and particularly at Brentford and at Nottingham, he proceeds to show, that they were the natural fruit of unextinguished Jacobinism. In speaking of the German school of philosophy, he cites certain provisions from the new code of criminal law proposed to be adopted in Bavaria, which are truly curious. He closes his pamphlet with the only observation in it, of which we do not approve:—"A new parliament is about to assemble, "which will, probably, hold in its hands, "the fate of the British empire, and, perhaps, that of the whole civilized world. "To assist it in the arduous duties which it "will have to perform, it has the inestimable benefit of *example* and experience. "To the *wisdom*, *firmness*, and *energy* of the "*last parliament*, we are indebted, under "Providence, for the happiness of seeing "our revered sovereign once more convene "the states of his kingdom, and of still enjoying, unimpaired, all the forms and "privileges of our incomparable constitution." By *parliament* Mr. Bowles must here mean *the House of Commons*, because, otherwise, the word *last* is altogether inapplicable. And, if this be his meaning, we regret, that he did not point out some particular instances of that *wisdom*, that *firmness*, and that *energy*, which are to serve as an *example* for the present parliament. Were all, or any one of, these qualities displayed in the almost unanimous vote which was given in favour of the Peace of Amiens? In short, we narrowly watched the proceedings of the House of Commons; we saw twenty bills of great importance passed without twenty members in the House; we saw very little public spirit, and very little of that sort of conduct which we would wish to see imitated. We saw a poor, tame, spiritless set of men, following the minister of the day, let him be who or what he would; we saw Mr. Pitt making a conveyance of their support as if it had been his property in the fee simple; we saw—we saw enough to wish never to see the like again. —In every other sentiment expressed in this valuable pamphlet we most heartily concur. The appendix contains some very interesting documents respecting the *Bastile*, as it is called, and as it always will be called, till its real name be made shorter than that of *The House of Correction in Cold Bath Fields*.

3. *Vindication of the Political Conduct of the Rt. Hon. William Windham, addressed to his Opponents at the late Election for the City of Norwich.*—There is certainly an error in the *title* of this pamphlet: Mr. Windhem stood in no need of a *vindication*, on account either of his political *conduct* or his political *opinions*, the former none but knaves and fools have ever censured, and the latter have now received the sanction of woeful experience.—This error is, however, but a trifle, when set against the great merit of the contents of the pamphlet, which is written with energy and elegance, and which abounds in just and useful observations, particularly relating to the bill for the suppression of bull-baiting. The passage on this subject, which we could wish to extract, is too long for insertion here; but we shall certainly give it a place in the Supplement to the present volume of the Register. The concluding part of it, however, we cannot refrain from quoting:—"Should these "plans of puritanical legislation proceed, "the humours, and the inclinations of the "people will be reduced to that state of "vassalage, which is always followed by an "utter depravation of public character. A "more desolate, comfortless state of society "can scarce present itself to the imagination, than that which the schemes of "these sanctified reformers are hastening to "establish. When they are matured, (an "event fervently to be deprecated) all high-"minded, virtuous courage, all the heroic "qualities, will die away amongst us. When "the theatres, to which we resort to divert "the mind by a fanciful exhibition of human follies, or to soften it by affecting "images of the ills that surround us, or to "exalt it by spectacles of the virtue and "grandeur of our nature, when these shall "be shut up by solemn ordinance, when "every day shall be made a sabbath, and "the whole country a conventicle, what-

" ever advances we shall have made in piety
" and devoutness, we shall have lost that
" activity and vigour, the decline of which
" (if a race of puritans be worth a conquest)
" will render us an easy and ridiculous prey
" to our enemies."

TO THE EDITOR.

Sir,—In your remarks on the election of Prince Ruspoli to be Grand Master of the Order of Malta (see Register, p. 512) you admit this election to be contrary to the treaty of Amiens, and conclude with saying—" whether we have a right to hold " this island is another question." Now, if what is reported be true, viz. that the First Consul has compelled the Dey of Algiers to cede to him two ports on the coast of Barbary, it seems to me that our holding Malta, until France or some other power shall take it from us, ought to be no longer a question: I say this upon the supposition (which will scarce be disputed) that our possessions in India might be endangered by the French becoming masters of Egypt. It is now clear beyond all doubt, that the First Consul has determined to repeat his attack upon Egypt, for on no other account would it be worth his while to expend a single livre in maintaining these two African ports. It was doubtless with a view to this enterprize that he has forced an election of a Grand Master of Malta, contrary to the treaty of Amiens, and in the hope that our government might suffer this manœuvre to pass unnoticed. That Malta would be in effect his own the moment it should be garrisoned by Neapolitan troops, he certainly knows: but he also knows by experience, that even the possession of Malta is not sufficient to keep up a safe communication between Egypt and France in opposition to a British fleet. He has therefore endeavoured to make assurance doubly sure, by getting into his hands these two ports; which, whether they are capable of receiving large ships of war or not, will at least serve as a shelter for frigates and transports, and convenient places of rendezvous for troops. On his part then, this measure of having an establishment on the coast of Barbary is prudent and worthy of his military foresight. Fortunately on our part we can shew equal prudence and foresight in not suffering Malta to go any more out of our hands: that island affording the only point of effectual opposition to the apparent designs of our enemy. So much for the prudence of the respective conduct of England and France on this occasion. With respect to right and justice, the case seems to stand thus. The acquisition of the African ports by France is *unjustifiable*, because those ports can serve only as posts of attack, and are therefore preparatives to the execution of an hostile intention against England, which has certainly shewn no hostile intention against France. The retaining of Malta by England is *justifiable*, because that island can serve only as a post of defence; but then it is a post essential to the defence of a part of our possessions against which France has, by her acquisition of the African ports, manifested an hostile intention. Our retaining that island is therefore justified by the law of self-defence, which supersedes all other obligations.

You have said well, Sir, (p. 248) that " the people of England might with some " shew of reason complain, if a peace, " purchased with the safety and honour of " England itself, were so soon to be broken " for the sake of a nest of pirates,"—and let the First Consul and the Dey of Algiers settle the matter as they please between themselves; but whether the First Consul persist in keeping or consent to relinquish these ports, our ministers are to look to the security of our empire in India, and never to suffer the only point of defence in Europe to pass into the hands of France through the medium of an unsubstantial and helpless guarantee.

It is possible that the First Consul, on due consideration of his late conduct and present situation, may not undertake to compel us to perform an article in the treaty of peace which he himself has manifestly infringed. But, in case of necessity, let us oppose to the frequently repeated maxim of the French Republic " *delenda est Carthago*," a more novel and less presumptuous maxim—" *tenenda est Melita*."

A Plain Speaker.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,

A Sunday Paper having called the attention of government to an *improvement of the situation of the Irish catholic clergy*, as a body *embracing great talent, great worth, and dependant on a wretched eleemosynary pittance*, perhaps the following statement may be sufficient to shew that the popish clergy receive, in fees, for the different offices of their function, more than the whole amount of tythes paid to the established church.—By an estimate of the late Bishop of Cloyne, it appears that the aggregate tythes of

all the parishes, including deaneries and other dignities, amount to £148,118. 1*s.* 8*d.*, which, divided by one thousand, the stated number of clergy, gives an average of £148. 2*s.* 8½*d.* to each.—Now, it is calculated that one million five hundred thousand catholics go to confession twice everyl year, when each deposits one shilling British,

This amounts to - -	£162,500	0	0
Suppose, then, another million of shillings presented at the altar at Christmas - -	54,166	13	4
Christenings, marriages, and funerals, estimated at - -	20,833	6	8
Total -	£237,500	0	0

Hence the emoluments of the catholic clergy exceed the tythes paid to the established church, by at least £88,381. 18*s.* 4*d.*—To this may be added the great profits arising from several other religious ceremonies, all which are paid for, such as *extreme unctions*, *masses for the dead*, *indulgences*, *commutation of penances*, &c. It is not fairly stated, then, that the *situation* of the Irish catholic clergy, all of whom must be single men, calls for *improvement*, while those of the established church, nearly the whole of whom are respectable in point of birth and education, are constrained to live on much less, and even to support large families. Neither is it true that their *wretched pittance*, as this paper styles it, is *eleemosynary*; on the contrary, it is demanded as a right, for the performance of those services ordained in the rituals of their church, and which would otherwise be with-held. I do not wish, Sir, to detract from the merits possessed by any class whatever: doubtless there may be individuals among the communion alluded to, as among all great bodies, who are endowed with *talent* and *worth*; but those who have been witnesses of their general habits, will find no reason to appreciate such *talent* and *worth*, to the prejudice of the established clergy of Ireland, whose erudition, morality, and loyalty, were never excelled by any society of men; and whose laudable exertions have been so conspicuous during the late unhappy disturbances in that country.—There are parishes in Ireland without either churches or glebe-houses, the incumbent, or his curate, being obliged to read prayers every Sunday in some obscure room obtained for the purpose. Should not, then, the paper alluded to (and which I have ever considered as an advocate for the established church), rather approve of public money being applied to remedy those defects, than to augment the income of men who have already more than the protestant clergy?—What I have now advanced is merely with a design of correcting an erroneous statement, and by no means directed to the attention of government; being fully satisfied, that while so much talent and integrity preside at the helm, whatever measure may be adopted on this, or any other subject, will be the result of that judgment and equitable decision, which have marked the whole of his administration. I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant, A. L.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Definitive Conclusum adopted by the Deputation of the Diet of Ratisbon, on the 21st of October, and the Opinion of Austria on the General Plan of Indemnities.

It shall be declared to the ministers of the mediating powers, that the Deputation have maturely weighed, according to its importance, the new general plan which was transmitted to them under the date of the 8th of this month. They acknowledge, in the first place, the benevolent regard which the mediating powers and their ministers have had for the representations and remarks which the Deputation have made upon the first declaration. They acknowledge besides, with the warmest gratitude, not only the benevolent views and efforts by which the mediating powers have sought to accelerate the re-establishment of order and tranquillity in the empire, but also the indefatigable zeal with which their ministers have sought, hitherto, to fulfil this task. And as the doubt which the Deputation still had, upon the subject of the new plan, is done away by the illustrations given in the Notes of the 13th and 19th of this month, they make no more difficulty in accepting, in all its extent, the general plan of the 8th. In consequence they will adopt, without delay, conformably to that plan, the necessary decisions upon the regulations to be made; they will unite the whole in one act, in order to be able to communicate it to the ministers of the mediating powers. The present Conclusum shall be delivered, in the accustomed forms, to the Imperial Plenipotentiary, with the request that he will adhere to it, and communicate it to the mediating powers.—The Minister of the Teutonic Order lamented that the Conclusum was drawn up, without waiting for the instructions he expected to receive.—In the same sitting in which the Conclusum was passed, the Minister of Austria gave his vote upon the general plan of the indemnities; it is as follows:—"In conformity with the instructions of his court, the Sub-delegate considers the object of the deliberation under two points of view; that is, under that of the justice of the claims made to the Deputation of the Empire for his Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and next under that of the conciliatory dispositions and measures of the Imperial and Royal Court. The Sub-delegate establishes, that France, as a contracting party at the peace of Luneville, cannot conclude any convention with others, nor prescribe plans of indemnities which attack any stipulations whatever of that treaty; on the other hand, the part of mediator does not give the faculty of injuring the rights of a party interested, and the Deputation cannot accede to a plan which injures the treaty of Luneville, considered as the basis and motive of their being convoked. By the treaty of Luneville, the Grand Duke of Tuscany is to be indemnified completely; and that indemnity is neither to be found in the first nor the second plan of indemnities; and to the surprise of the Imperial Royal Court, no regard has been had in the modified plan to the representations made upon the subject, though measures have been taken to answer all other claims. In equity no one can put a false interpretation upon the dispositions of his Imperial Majesty, if he sees himself under the necessity of protecting in the most so-

lemn manner, the rights of his august brother, and of *protesting against the adoption of the modified plan of the mediating powers.* The legitimacy of this protest cannot be invalidated by any essential reason founded upon the public law of Germany; neither by the majority of votes of the Deputation, because that majority has not authorised the Deputation to outstep the limits and end of its full powers; neither by the invariability of the mediating powers, because these regulations ought to be guided by the legitimacy of the demand, and not by determinations which have their source in dispositions, friendly, but not emanating from any strength of right. It could not be opposed to this demand, that the mass of the indemnities is not equal to the mass of claims; for in that case, the number ought to be restricted to that which is expressed in the treaty, and then the restriction arising from the insufficiency of the mass of indemnities should be applied not to one single part, but to all. Nevertheless, these principles are often departed from in the plan of indemnities.—The Sub-delegate then states, that the negotiations are still in train at Paris; that his court has lately made, by its ambassador, propositions to the French government, which prove its extreme moderation as well as its conciliatory dispositions and just regards for the parties interested, and from which it has just ground to expect a happy result. The Imperial Royal Court flatters itself with having by such equitable propositions evidently manifested the nature of its conciliatory dispositions, and the price which it attaches to the interference and to the friendly propositions of the mediating powers.—After this it has so much the more reason to hope that these powers will have, by reciprocity, just regards for his Royal Highness the Grand Duke, and that they will please to make in their plan of indemnities such modifications as the Imperial Royal Court can agree to.—It must be seen from this statement, that the Imperial and Royal Court cannot incur the least reproach of delay; far from it, the Sub-delegate must regret that the best intentions and conciliatory measures have not been received on the part of the mediating powers, nor by any of the co-estates to the Deputation, with that eagerness, which would have removed, and still may remove by some means or other, all the difficulties. The general state of things is not besides sufficiently pressing to cause apprehension of danger in a more mature discussion. All Europe is tranquil, and wishes to maintain the peace. Germany awaits the decision of its fate with patience and firmness. France has every reason to be content with the advantages which she has obtained from the peace, and has no reason to envy the Royal and Imperial Court the execution of the stipulations which concerns it, and still less to refuse it.—The Emperor Alexander I. is a monarch friendly to peace and justice; he will see in this extreme moderation of a faithful friend of his empire this new proof of her good intentions.—Austria, far from envying any body his just pretensions, is ready to sacrifice more than half of her just claims to facilitate her settlement of the business of the indemnities. As to Passau, the Imperial and Royal Court is disposed to consent to the abstraction of the part of that bishopric situate beyond the Inn and the Danube, provided there be given to the Archduke some other advantage in exchange. She is also disposed to make her troops evacuate that part of Passau, if the Elector Palatine, on his part, shall undertake not to occupy it, until, by some arrangement of indemnity, his Royal Highness the Grand Duke, shall be secured according to the sentiments of moderation above expressed."

Note presented at the Diet of Ratisbon, on the 25th of October, by Baron Bild, the Swedish Deputy for Anterior Pomerania.

The under-signed Minister Plenipotentiary from his Swedish Majesty to the Diet of the Empire, conceives that the time is arrived which requires him to break silence, since the German Empire is threatened with new dangers and divisions, which render it necessary for all the Members of the Empire to unite with their head, to maintain their independence, without which there can be no durable tranquillity or security. The King of Sweden, who is so fortunate as to have lost no territory during the war, is too generous to wish any augmentation of his possessions in Germany, and therefore can have no other object than the true welfare of the German Empire and its legal rights and independence. Actuated by these sentiments, his Majesty would have hesitated to take any part in the affairs of the Empire, had he not found that Foreign Powers have interfered in the present important transactions. His Majesty, therefore, as a Prince of the Empire, and a guarantee of its constitution, is certainly justified in taking a part in the deliberations. His Majesty acknowledges the necessity of changes in the German Empire, on the equitable principles already admitted, in order to indemnify those Princes of the Empire who, by the mutable fortune of the war lately concluded, have lost their territories; but such changes, according to these same principles, must be made with all possible propriety and justice, so that those only may receive indemnifications who have suffered actual losses. In conclusion, his Majesty considers it as a duty again to remind the Diet of the Empire, that an improper and dangerous example has been given, by the occupation of territories with an armed force, before the right to them has been legally acknowledge, and that it is necessary, by an express Declaration, to prevent the same in future.

Bild.

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